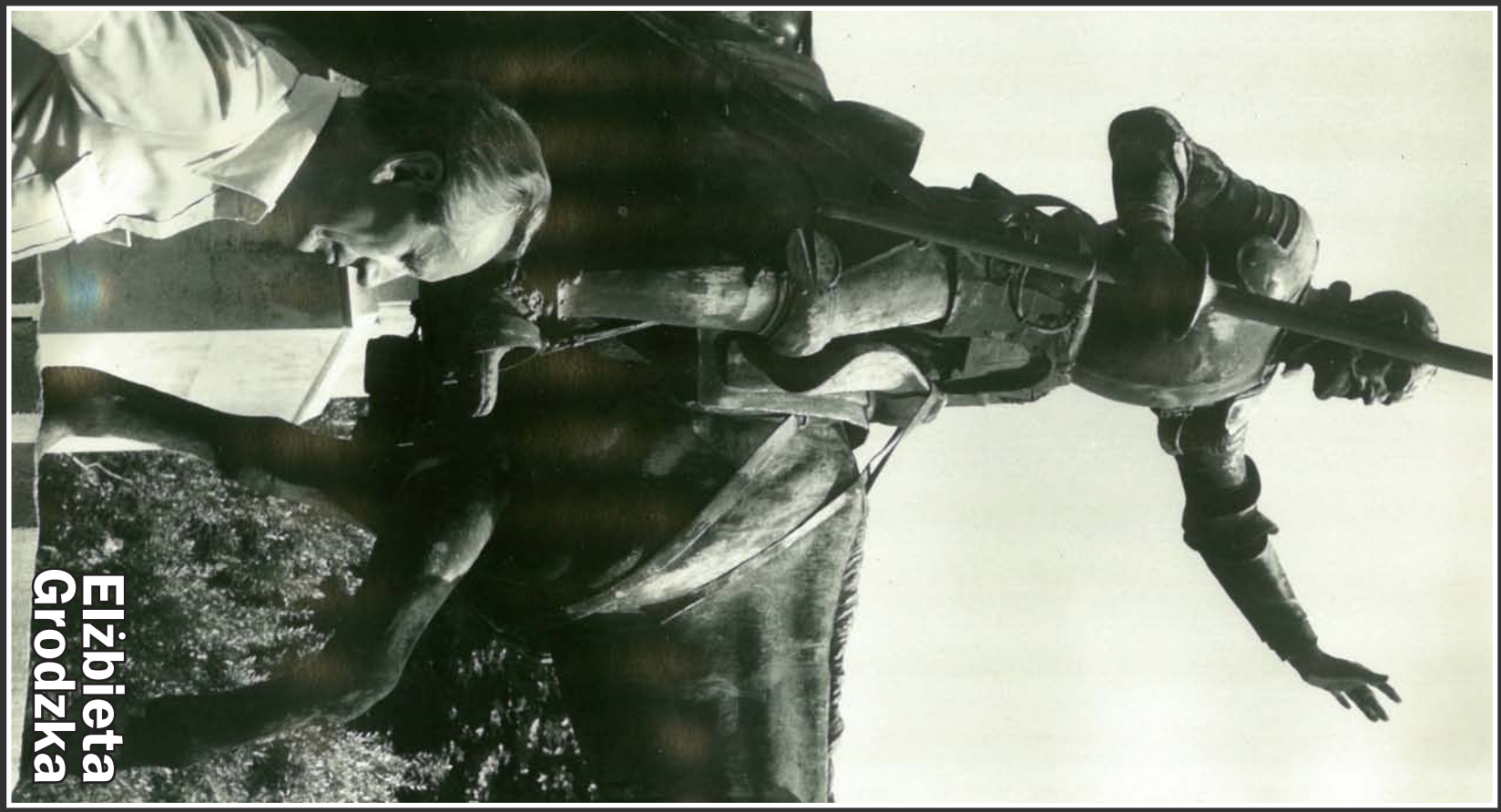
Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej



Elżbieta Grodzka

PROFESSOR

Edmund Małachowicz

Architect and Restorer. Authenticity and credibility of the architectural monument

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Introduction

The topic of this book[1] is the architectural and conservation activity of Edmund Małachowicz, pursued by the Professor in the years 1953–2008 and discussed here on the basis of his architectural designs. As a designer, Edmund Małachowicz rebuilt a number of important monuments in Wroclaw. The effects of his work are clearly visible in the landscape of the city, which, thanks to revitalization and conservation of historic buildings, slowly regained the cultural values lost during World War II. The professor also conducted research – its results significantly changed the portrayal of the development of Polish medieval architecture. Both scientific and didactic activity of Edmund Małachowicz had a very significant impact on the workshop and methods of education of future architects and conservators at the Architecture Faculties of Polish universities.

The goal was to systematize and organize the Professor's achievements, highlighting the hitherto unnoticed social and political context. In the description of the architect's professional activity, one should naturally incline towards the humanistic approach with an emphasis on the artist's participation in the shaping of a given architectural environment[2]. At the same time, each individual operates within a specific framework defined by several factors that make up the picture of reality. It is the knowledge of these determinants that influences the assessment of decisions made. The same also applies to architectural activity, which is always a symbol of its times, a reflection of the prevailing social, economic, and political relations.

In the context of the architectural and conservation activity of Edmund Małachowicz, the paper presents the course of processes that were decisive in whether particular monuments were to be renovated or demolished. The book includes an analysis of whether a building maintained its structural authenticity, and discusses its possible transformations and additions as well.

The intention was also to show the process of rebuilding Wrocław from the perspective of an individual's actions. Local issues were referred to, so it was essential to show the relationships and interactions between people and places – especially since the community that came to Lower Silesia came not only from the Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic but also from all over Poland. Building a new identity among the inhabitants of the newly annexed areas, called the Recovered Territories by the propaganda, also applied to architecture. The presented book is a monograph of the professional achievements of Edmund Małachowicz and analyzes his work in the context of the complex process of rebuilding Wrocław.

The activity of the Professor – one of the leading Wroclaw conservators – on the one hand, shows a relationship with general (changing over the years) trends in Polish conservation, on the other, has groundbreaking characteristics.

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1 This book is a development of E. Grodzka's doctoral thesis, *Autentyczność i wiarygodność działalności zawodowej prof. Edmunda Małachowicza* (*Authenticity and credibility in the professional activity of prof. Edmund Małachowicz*), written under the supervision of dr hab. inż. arch. K. Kirschke, Wrocław University of Technology, Wrocław 2015.

2 The concept of modernist-normative approaches using the empirical-quantitative model of research was compared with the concept of the subjectivity of historical phenomena resulting from the active participation of the individual – these concepts are presented in [139, pp. 11–28].

His designs are the result of creative thought, a common concept resulting from scientific analyses, and modest technical, financial, and material capabilities at the time. They are representative examples illustrating the reconstruction of monuments in Lower Silesia. The basis of these achievements was education at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology led by architects practitioners and later cooperation with pre-war artisans. In the following years, Edmund Małachowicz developed his model of handling the monument. It was based on a balance between maximum preservation of authentic substance and credible reconstruction (based on scientific principles, but readable to the recipient) versus the author's creation.

The Professor's design activities are exemplary in illustrating the special role of an individual in shaping the historical image of a city. Bottom-up initiatives are also important, as, for some monuments, they proved crucial for their survival.

Edmund Małachowicz's research can be discovered through his numerous books, which reveal the extent of Professor's interests. The publications contain not only reports on the studies carried out but also select conservation designs[3]. The experience of many years of professional work was used in the development of a conservation handbook, dealing with the issue in a very comprehensive manner [80]. In none of his books, however, did the Professor outline the socio-political context that was so significant at the beginning of his professional career[4] – it was evident to him, not so much anymore to a contemporary reader unfamiliar with the realities of the socialist era and thus requiring an addendum, which the presented work facilitates.

Brief descriptions of conservation designs implemented by Edmund Małachowicz can be found in atlases and lexicons on the architecture of Wrocław and in white pages of monuments located in the Archives of the Conservator of the city of Wrocław [177–199][5].

A summary of the achievements of Edmund Małachowicz was included in the anniversary book published on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of his birth, which also included, apart from the biographical note, a list of major projects and publications prepared by Maciej Małachowicz [41]. In 2001, an exhibition was opened at the Museum of Architecture in Wrocław, presenting the Professor's professional achievements: Edmund Małachowicz. Architect. Conservator. Historian. Exhibition of works 1951–2000. Both his design and scientific output were presented. Visitors could view selected designs – from those that had become a reality to those that had not. The exhibited works have unfortunately not been published in the form of a catalogue. A few of them are presented only fragmentarily in the exhibition brochure.

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3 The entirety of the professor's scientific achievements was documented in the Center of Knowledge and Scientific and Technical Information of the Wrocław University of Technology (DONA database available at http://dona.bg.pwr.wroc.pl/. A list of publications is also to be found in [81, pp. 15– 22].

4 The exception is the last of the three editions of the *Katedra Wrocławska* (*Wroclaw Cathedral*) [79, p. 166], in which E. Małachowicz describes, among others the blocking of the permit for the renovation of the west façade by the Department of Religious Affairs.

5 An example may be the paper in [5] and the *Leksykon architektury Wrocławia* (*Lexicon of Wrocław Architecture*), R. Eysymontt, J. Illkosz, A. Tomaszewicz, J. Urbanik (ed.), Via Nova, Wrocław 2011.

The research conducted as the foundation for writing this book has concluded that the knowledge concerning Edmund Małachowicz's works is incomplete. Therefore, it had to be expanded to include all previously unrecognized designs concerning Wrocław.

The adopted methodology was based on in-depth studies of subject literature, iconographic studies, inventory analysis, and site views of selected architectural objects. A separate information source involved narrative interviews, which also included the so-called oral history method.

Subject literature studies included available publications on the post-war reconstruction of Wrocław – a description of the realities of that time as well as selected architectural and conservation objects on which Edmund Małachowicz worked. The publications of Olgierd Czerner and Mirosław Przyłęcki presenting the history of the conservation of Wroclaw monuments were a valuable source of knowledge – often indicating the difficulties that occurred during the implementation of the designs (mainly in terms of build quality and access to building materials).

The review of the daily press of that period was an important supplement to these studies – a valuable source of information about the realities of life in Wroclaw during the Polish People's Republic, as well as the not quite insignificant „voice" of public opinion on the matter of heritage. Industry magazines in the field of architecture and conservation art were also used, such as "Ochrona zabytków" (Protection of Monuments) or "Architektura" (Architecture).

What turned out to be an indispensable source of knowledge necessary to conduct comparative analyses of the methodology of research and conservation works used by Edmund Małachowicz were the publications on the transformation of conservation doctrines in Europe and Poland and the legislation in force in the field of protection of historical monuments in 1945–1989[6]. Such data was included, among others in studies: [34, 46, 157][7].

The professor's architectural education also influenced the shape of his design methodology – especially the profiles of academic teachers who were his masters, such as Marcin Bukowski, Andrzej Frydecki, and Bohdan Guerquin. Zenon Prętczyński's publication documenting the silhouettes of the professors of the Faculty of Architecture from 1947–1953 [116] proved to be extremely helpful here.

The author primarily focused on the designs of Edmund Małachowicz – mainly on available archival documentation, unfortunately often incomplete. Thanks to the kindness of the Professor's family and colleagues, she also gained access to references from private collections.

Iconographic studies also included the original state of the buildings, their subsequent remodelling, and the form before destruction in 1945. They served as comparative material to his conservation designs. A rich collection of iconog-

6 The achievements of 19th-century theoreticians and practitioners of conservation in Europe, such as J. Ruskin, E.E. Viollet-le-Duc, C. Boito, A. Riegl, were also taken into account. They were recognized to have had a significant impact on the shaping of post-war trends in the country's reconstruction.

7 Cyclical post-conference publications prepared by B. Szmygin and organized by PKN ICOMOS are extremely interesting, e.g., Monument protection system in Poland – analysis, diagnosis, proposal, and Valuation in the protection and conservation of monuments.

raphy is available in online sources – the page [236] turned out to be particularly valuable. Album publications were a significant complement to the literature studies – thanks to them one can learn about the city's appearance over the centuries: before the destruction of World War II, after the destruction and after the reconstruction; the most important items include: [28, 32, 131–133].

In the years 2010–2014, a visual inspection of the current condition and photographic inventory of selected conservation works of Edmund Małachowicz were also carried out. The collected material was used in comparative studies, in which the designs and their implementations were juxtaposed.

Innovative for "documentation of the era", a method of the oral history narrative interview was used defined as a direction of historical research referring to the sources of historiography by referencing the individual memory, as well as a separate research method or technique, used, among others in history or sociology [59, p. 101]. The underlying assumption adopted in this method is to accept human memory as a historical document as valuable as archival sources. The interviewer conducts a narrative interview for an indefinite period, the purpose of which is to examine the individual's experience of the past by the teller[8] – they are an informer, story witness, or interlocutor/narrator and have the full copyright for the interview[9]. The statement should be recorded on any sound or image medium. In this work, this method was crucial because it filled in the gaps in information on the course of events and helped to understand the motives of action. It also played an important role in recreating the so-called zeitgeist, without which it would be impossible to understand the architecture of the time. The information obtained with it was used to construct both a portrait of a place and time and a specific personal portrait of Edmund Małachowicz – an architect and researcher. Thanks to the adopted strategy, it was possible to achieve one of the assumed objectives, i.e., to show the process of rebuilding Wrocław from the perspective of bottom-up initiatives (in total 15 interviews were conducted with persons privately or professionally connected with the Professor); all recordings were documented at the Memory and Future Center in Wrocław[10].

The information on public administration operation methods is supplemented by the documents from the National Archives of the City of Wrocław, the Construction Archives of the City of Wrocław, the Museum of Architecture, the University Library (Department of Microfilms), the National Heritage Institute of the City of Wrocław and the Archives of the Conservator of the city of Wrocław.

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8 Based on: [61]. See [1, pp. 2–6].

9 The differences in naming are due to the different approaches of researchers working with this method both theoretically and practically. A detailed description of the development of this method and the terminology used can be found in [61, pp. 11–28].

10 The main office of the Center is located at 10–12 Teatralna Street in Wrocław. Since the beginning of 2009, it has been a local government institution of Wrocław. Its mission is to save important moments of historical experience. Documented are stories of people who came to western Poland over 60 years ago and began to shape the new identity of these lands.

Biographical note

Edmund Małachowicz, son of Józef and Maria (née Maczkowska), was born on 3 March 1925, in Vilnius. His parents met in Ukraine. The mother came from Greater Poland. When she was a little girl, she came with her family to Bila Tserkva[1], where her father took a job at the sugar factory as the supervisor of machinery. Józef Małachowicz came from a family of landed gentry settling in the Vilnius region. He went to the south-eastern territories in the years 1918–1920 as a soldier of the Polish Army to take part in the ongoing fighting there. After the end of hostilities, he and his wife returned to the family estate in Zybniszki[2]. They did not live there long, however. The economic situation and family matters (there was already one daughter-in-law on the farm) meant that Józef and Maria Małachowicz had to move to Vilnius to pursue running a store. They settled in the "Alley of the Literates" ("Zaułek Literatów"). Soon their son Edmund and daughter Irena were born. The family business did not bring much income and eventually collapsed. Therefore, the conditions in which the children were brought up were very modest (in addition, Edmund was quite sickly). From an early age, he showed interest in books. The mother saw her son's great desire to learn, so she tried her best to enable him to get an education. She managed to arrange, among others, tutoring in German with a retired neighbor in exchange for help in housekeeping. Thanks to her efforts, Edmund Małachowicz began education in Adam Mickiewicz middle school[3]. Apart from the books, what the future Professor also took an interest in was Vilnius itself – a city with unusual architecture from various historical periods. The beauty of this extraordinary place, as he claimed, inspired him to choose a career path focused on researching and protecting cultural heritage. His mother told him, however, that he could not count on studying architecture because his family could not afford to send him to Lviv or Warsaw, while in Vilnius, there was no such faculty at that time. High school was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II, and all Polish schools were closed at that time[4]. The lack of formal possibilities to continue education was no obstacle in the independent exploration of knowledge for the young Edmund Małachowicz – including the field of architecture. He devoted his free time to taking walks with a sketchbook – he would draw, among others, buildings of the Vilnius old town. His first guide to the history of architecture became the guide

1 A place near Kyiv.

2 Zybniszki – a village in the Wilno-Troki district of the Wilno Province of the Second Polish Republic.

3 The school was located in the building of the former Piarist College that no longer exists, one of the pearls of Vilnius Baroque, opposite the church of the Holy Spirit. In addition to ordinary subjects, the curriculum also included Latin and Ancient Greek.

4 After the USSR troops entered the territories of the Second Polish Republic, the power in the Vilnius region was transferred to the Lithuanian administration, provided that a Red Army garrison of 30,000 was maintained. In the early December of 1939, a school strike broke out as a protest against the Lithuanization of curricula. A significant proportion of students were expelled from schools. Secret teaching began in private apartments. In 1941–1945, under German occupation, education could be continued in this form only. Documents were also being Lithuanized. In 1940, Edmund Małachowicz was issued with a „foreigner's identity certificate" (sic!) under the name E. Malachovičius.

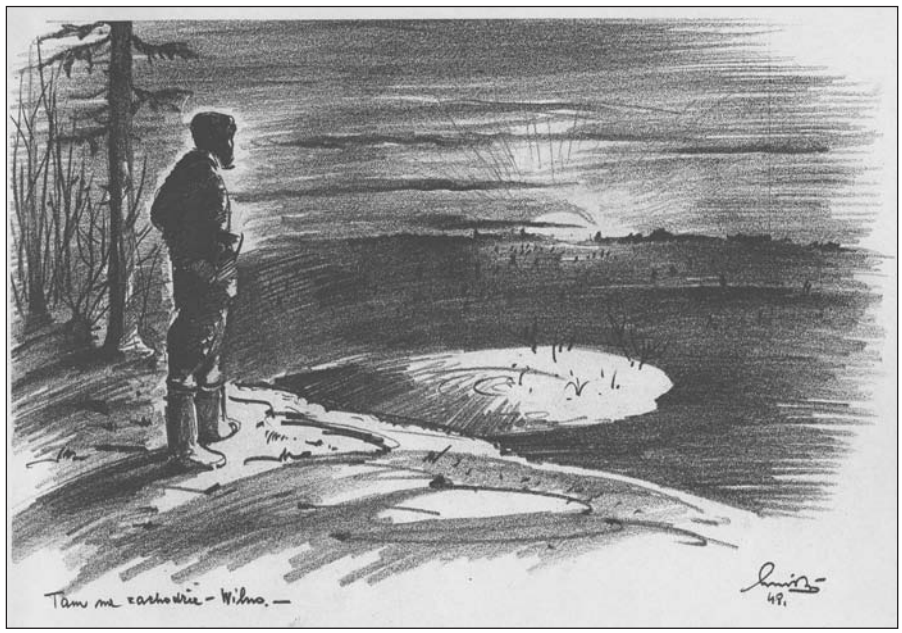
1. Vilnius, Zaułek Literatów (2017); photo: E.G.

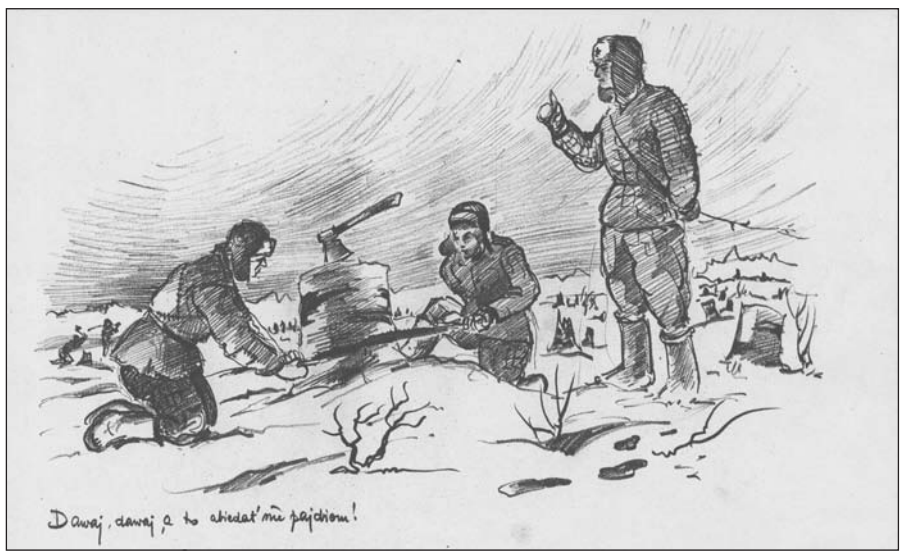
Simply, when one lives in an ugly city, one will never be interested in the problems of aesthetics, architecture history. And when one was born in a city like Vilnius, where every step of the way there were works of Gothic, the richness of the Baroque and other styles, it was hard to ignore it. Slowly, slowly, it penetrated me and I became interested in the problems of ancient architecture [225].

to Vilnius by Juliusz Kłos [49]. During the occupation, Edmund Małachowicz also made his first „study trip" to Riga.

The Second World War destroyed many valuable monuments of European architecture, including those in Vilnius. Edmund Małachowicz regretfully watched his hometown being destroyed during the fighting that took place there. In May 1944, the military action of Home Army units codenamed "Storm" ("Burza") began. It was directed against the German army and aimed at liberating Vilnius before the Red Army did. In this way, they wanted to emphasize the Polishness of the Eastern Borderlands. Nineteen-year-old Edmund Małachowicz participated in Operation "Gate of Dawn" ("Ostra Brama"). After the uprising's collapse and the arrest of the Polish command by the Soviets, he was interned in the Miedniki Królewskie camp and was soon taken to Kaluga with other partisans. He was conscripted into the 361st Battalion of the Red Army infantry regiment, whose task was to cut down the forest. The military service lasted for a year and a half. Years later, the professor mentioned that he was fortunate because many of his comrades did not survive the harsh climate and hard work.

In January 1946, Edmund Małachowicz came to Białystok, and then through Kraków, to the areas called the Recovered Territories (Ziemie Odzyskane). He found his family, thanks to messages sent through the Red Cross. Soon, he was joined by his father returning from the Caucasus camp and mother with his sister Irena, who had stayed in Vilnius until now. Initially, they lived in Kluczbork, and then in 1946, they moved to Wrocław. Despite the colossal war damage, the city still had hundreds of valuable architectural objects worthy of rebuilding and pre-





2. The daily life of Home Army soldiers interned in Kaluga; W. Leonowicz, from the archives of the Małachowicz family

My friend and I went to Riga. Risk-takers... German military transport. We waited for the train in the guard's box and jumped in as it passed by. Then we jumped out and explored the city. They didn't catch us. I was probably seventeen then... Our first tourism [225].

It was a large group, probably with ten thousand... two regiments. We refused to take the oath because they ordered us to take the Soviet kind. They separated the officers and sent them somewhere else. Many never came back. They kept investigating whether there were officers among us. There were, but no one betrayed them [...] [225].

[...] We walked through the ruins of the bridges, I looked, and someone put the Polish flag on the castle tower. As expected, both sides, Soviet and German, directed artillery fire there, destroying both the flag and the tower. And there would be something to boast of now... [...] [225].

serving. For Edmund Małachowicz (the future architect-conservator), the desire to save these became the primary motivation in his professional work[5]. The scale

5 The degree of destruction in Wrocław was admittedly dreadful, but for many young architects of this period, the ruins of the city were a source of creative inspiration, which they describe as

We arrived in one transport, then in another one to Biała Podlaska, there was a security officer sitting at the table and issuing certificates: discharged, go to... Where? – He asked. I answered that I did not know. I looked at the new map of Poland and said that as far to the west as possible. And what, did you not like it in the east? – He asks. I said I liked it very much, but I like to look at the setting sun longer. He laughed and wrote down the cerificate [225].

I always hoped that if I took care of the monuments here [i.e. in Wrocław; note E.G.], someone would take care of the Vilnius monuments [225]

of Wrocław's cityscape was much more urban than Vilnius, which was an additional inspiration for him[6]. The family lived in the vicinity of Westerplatte Square.

In 1946, Edmund Małachowicz worked for several months at the Construction Union construction company (przedsiębiorstwo wykonawcze Unia Budowlana). A year later, he began his education in the technical school of construction. After passing his final exams in 1948, he worked for three months at the Municipal Real Estate Board (Zarząd Nieruchomości Miejskich) in Wrocław and then continued his studies at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology[7]. The first dean of the faculty was Tadeusz Broniewski, a professor of the Lviv Polytechnic. The majority of lecturers were such experienced architects as Zbigniew Kupiec (one of the architects of Gdynia), Andrzej Frydecki, Marcin Bukowski[8]. Classes included design, drawing, and all exact sciences, including

It was a very nice flat, although it was burnt out and without windows. Since it was on the ground floor, the family was afraid that someone might break in, rob, or even murder, because then everything was possible in Wrocław... My husband wanted to study architecture very much, but he had doubts whether it would be financially possible for him and whether the family would help him. However, it turned out that boys and girls of the same material conditions came to this faculty, surrounded by the same poverty. They lived in the same buildings, often without a roof, on the lower floors, because the upper floors were often burnt ... [219].

follows: "I made a trip to Wrocław. And this, in my opinion, was a hit. A considerably ruined but beautiful city that needs architects. [...] In Wroclaw, there was an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, of creating everything from scratch. We were the first years. There was no tradition, bar that passed on by Lviv professors" [221]; entry in the form of recording and transcription, the first year of architecture students in Wrocław after 1945.
"In the summer of ,47, I got off at the Nadodrze Railway Station. There was a smell of war burning lingering everywhere" [230]; entry in the form of recording and transcription, the second year of architecture students in Wrocław.
"As we were walking down the street, probably Rzeźnicza... it was just a kind of a path, trodden by human feet, among ruins..." [222]; record in the form of recording and transcription, the second year of architecture students in Wrocław.
"In 1948 I came with a trip from school to the Regained Territories Exhibition. Both this exhibition and this Wrocław delighted me. [...] Wrocław, its destruction was, in my opinion, an inspiration to work. For some at rebuilding monuments and writing scientific works on this subject, and for such people like myself, who participated in the construction of new housing estates in Wrocław" [228]; recording and transcription, beginning of the academic year 1950.

6 The area that Vilnius occupied before World War II – 104 km^2, did not differ drastically from the space occupied by pre-war Wrocław – 175 km^2. However, there were significant differences regarding the scale and density of buildings. The population of Vilnius was around 209,000 inhabitants [124], Wrocław approximately 640,000.

7 Until 1949, it was the Department of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology.

8 The biographies of all the professors of the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology from 1947–1952 and the list of the first students can be found in the book by Z. Prętczyński [116].

3. Edmund Małachowicz against the wall of the Wrocław City Hall (the 1950s); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

It turned out that Mundek [Edmund; E.G.] had to study for another year in Cracow, because there was no master's program in Wrocław. But there came an answer that he was not welcome in Cracow because of illegal jokes about Stalin himself. They told him to be happy that they only refused him admission to university, because for such things you would usually go to prison. On the other hand, everyone laughed at these jokes [219].

mathematics, chemistry, and physics. The Faculty of Architecture was located in the main building of the Wrocław University of Technology.

In addition to the classes at the university, students actively participated in the process of rebuilding the city: they took inventories of destroyed historical buildings, saved the surviving details of historical stonework[9], engaged in construction works carried out by indigenous artisans from the Opole region. Students also prepared the Exhibition of the Regained Territories (Wystawa Ziem Odzyskanych)[10]. Edmund Małachowicz cooperated with Marcin Bukowski in the development of design documents for damaged monuments (as part of practice in the history of architecture). One of them was the cathedral of St John the Baptist, to whom he devoted almost thirty years of his professional life.

During his studies, the professor worked at the Central Office of Studies and Designs (Centralne Biuro Studiów i Projektów; 1949, 1950) and Wrocław Residential District Engineering Work Cooperative (Spółdzielnia Pracy Inżynierskiej Osiedle Wrocław; 1950, 1951), including preparation of construction cost estimates.

9 An example would be the attempt to save the historical portal by students who in the early 1950s collected its broken parts and arranged them in front of the entrance to the fortress basement located under the Polish Hill, next to the Silesian Museum in Wroclaw. The then administrator of the building dismantled the portal, filled the arch with brick and inserted a simple wooden door [19, p. 3].

10 Architecture students took part in the design of exhibition facilities, including A. and J. Tarnawski [232], T. Binek [9, p. 91].

Then, it was a time of the so-called work assignment in a given enterprise. A graduate might have not always liked it. I ended up well [225].

In 1951, Edmund Małachowicz married Jadwiga Matej, with whom he had two sons: Maciej (1953) and Grzegorz (1957). In the same year, he also received an engineering degree but was not granted permission to continue full-time studies due to „political unorthodoxy"[11].

After graduation, he was employed at the Municipal Housing Design Office (Biuro Projektów Budownictwa Komunalnego), in which he spent a year. In the years 1952–1954, he was the supervision inspector in the Provincial Communications Board (Wojewódzki Zarząd Łączności). He started his intense creative activity in 1953 when he began working at the Wrocław branch of the State Enterprise of Monument Conservation Workshops (Państwowe Przedsiębiorstwo Pracowni Konserwacji Zabytków, PP PKZ). He obtained his master's degree[12] (extramural) on 2 July 1958, at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology based on the work entitled Wyspa Piaskowa (Sand Island)[13].

Throughout the years of his work at PP PKZ, he was the author and co-author of study and design works. The essential projects from this period include houses in Rynek 51 and 4 (1953–1956), buildings at 6–10 Ofiar Oświęcimskich and 1–4 Świdnicka streets (1953–1957), reconstruction of the interior and the tower of the church of St Christopher (1955–1958), restoration of the former Selder Palace with adaptation to the Doctor's House (1957–1958), reconstruction of the roof of the church of St Bernard (1958) and the church of Maria Magdalena (1959) and the design for conservation and adaptation of Piwnica Świdnicka to a club interior (1959). Some of the designs produced during this period were not implemented – for example, a design for rebuilding the northern frontage of the Inner Block in Wroclaw's Market Square: 9 and 13–22 Rynek-Ratusz (1955), rebuilding and adapting the Hatzfeld Palace to the seat of the Provincial Public Library and Ossolineum Foundation (1956), design for the reconstruction of two wings of the Spaetgen palace – from the side of Wolności Square (1957–1960). The rebuilding of the mills of St Clare was also unsuccessful (1957–1958). He also took part in case studies concerning, among others, the manner of developing the islands of the Oder (1955), reconstruction of the eastern gable of the Ursuline Church (1957), and the church in Brzeg (1957–1966) and the former Bernardine monastery (1957–1960). In parallel, Edmund Małachowicz was involved in scientific activities. He described his first results in an article about the work carried out in Ostrów Tumski, then under the direction of Marcin Bukowski [88, pp. 209–211] and in another one about the discovery of a distance pole[14] of the Saxon post, which was found during works carried out in Zgorzelec.

11 It is difficult to determine the reason for such a decision precisely. The interviews with members of the Małachowicz family [226] show that it could have been a refusal to paint a portrait of one of the state dignitaries. From today's perspective, the reason seems to be trivial for such consequences, but in Stalinist Poland, it was highly probable.

12 Data comes from the Archives of the Wroclaw University of Technology; message received 25.02.2013.

13 At that time, the diploma examination was held in the so-called cloistered system. Tadeusz Binek described the way the examination was carried out as such: "I had five days of many hours per day to complete my work. It could be drawn only in the examination room under the guidance of assistants and with the kind help of a professor. A few colleagues did their diploma as well in the room, but they had utterly different architectural subjects" [9, p. 103].

14 The pole stood in the center of Zgorzelec, at the intersection of two postal routes. It was erected during the reign of Augustus II the Strong in Poland when there was a need to create a quick mail

My knowledge was all the more important because it was taken from nature. It was an open book. The broken walls of the churches showed their construction of vaults, pillars, and most importantly, they showed the colours. It was commonly believed (they were German scholars) that the Middle Ages was a dark period, that Gothic temples were supposedly in raw brick, red, dark. I found out that it was not true, that people were looking for some colours. For example, they painted joints or different pillar verticals in white and colour. Professor Zachwatowicz and Professor Świechowski wrote a very positive review, and Professor Zachwatowicz, who at that time was the head of 'Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki' (Quarterly Journal of Architecture and Spatial Planning) procured money for colourful illustrations, which was a rarity in the year fifty-something [225].

The find was taken over by the Provincial Communications Board (Wojewódzki Zarząd Łączności) and deposited in the collections of the Postal and Telecommunications Museum (Muzeum Poczty i Telekomunikacji)[15]. In 1960 and 1961, Edmund Małachowicz worked at the Spatial Planning Studio of the Presidium of the National Council of Wrocław (Pracownia Urbanistyczna Prezydium Rady Narodowej m. Wrocławia), then headed by Zbigniew Bodak. At that time, he created a development design covering the islands: Słodowa, Bielarska, Młyńska, Piasek, Ostrów Tumski, and Kępa Mieszczańska.

In the years 1962–1964, he was employed at the Miastoprojekt Wrocław General Construction Design and Research Office (Biuro Projektowo-Badawcze Budownictwa Ogólnego Miastoprojekt Wrocław, then the largest design office in Wrocław). At Miastoprojekt, Edmund Małachowicz developed designs for the reconstruction of historical buildings, as well as creating architecture with contemporary forms. The crucial conservation works carried out in this period include the former Bernardine monastery and the church of St Bernard – adapted for the Museum of Architecture[16] (1961–1964). Other designs concerned new service and residential buildings in prefabricated technology, implemented in the Old Town area in Wrocław, including 9–11, 5, 59–59A Łaciarska, 18, 22–28 Oławska, 1–5 Biskupia, 13–14 Wita Stwosza, 1–14 Krawiecka (1962–1965). In addition to such objects, he also designed the employee hotel of the Rokita plant in Brzeg Dolny (1964).

While working on the reconstruction of Wroclaw monuments, Edmund Małachowicz collected materials for his doctoral dissertation written under the supervision of Bohdan Guerquin (1904–1979), entitled Faktura i polichromia architektoniczna średniowiecznych wnętrz ceglanych na Śląsku (Texture and Architectural Polychrome of Medieval Brick Interiors in Silesia). The defense of the doctorate took place on 1 July 1964, at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology. Since the research topic raised in the dissertation was very innovative at that time, a decision was made to publish the results in two scientific journals [75, pp. 207–229; 89, pp. 17–34]. The conservation proposals presented have been taken into account in the development of subse-

between Warsaw and Saxony. Orientation poles stood on the road running through Zgorzelec, Lubań, Legnica, Wrocław to Warsaw. The find was interesting because only two such objects had survived [91, pp. 113–115].

15 There were plans for its anastylosis and exhibition opposite the Postal Museum in the park in Słowackiego Street [141, p. 4].

16 For this design, in 1966, the Professor received the Ministry of Construction's award in the category of the best conservation project.

4. Edmund Małachowicz skiing; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

quent designs for the conservation and reconstruction of the interior of Wroclaw churches.

In 1965, Edmund Małachowicz took the position of the Provincial Conservator of the city of Wrocław (Wojewódzki Konserwator Zabytków m. Wrocławia) by the recommendation of Olgierd Czerner[17]. As an official, he was able to work for the protection of heritage in Wrocław actively. He prepared designs, made strategic decisions in the city's reconstruction, wrote activity reports, and performed construction supervision over the rebuilt monuments. During this time, he created such designs as the adaptation of the remnants of the Hatzfeld palace for the Awangarda art gallery (1966–1972), conservation, and exhibition of the Bernardine bastion in Juliusza Słowackiego Avenue (1967–1971), conservation of the eastern façade of the Arsenal (1967) and two sections of the remains of the defensive wall. He conducted works in many religious buildings in Wrocław, including in the church of St Adalbert (1965–1969), in the church of Corpus Christi – reconstruction of the medieval texture and interior color (1967–1970), in the church of St Clare in Wrocław – reconstruction and arrangement of the

17 The office of the municipal conservator of the city of Wrocław was established according to the resolution of 1 June 1955, undertaken by the Presidium of the Central Board of Museums and Heritage Protection (Prezydium Centralnego Zarządu Muzeów i Ochrony Zabytków). O. Czerner was the first municipal conservator.

Mausoleum of Wrocław Piast Dynasty (1968–1970). He also resumed work on the restoration of the cathedral of John the Baptist, where he renovated the western façade (1968–1970) and the eastern façade (1971–1973)[18]. Some of the designs created at that time were not implemented, such as the adaptation of the mills of St Clare for the Ethnographic Museum (1966) and the exhibition of castle relics in Ostrów (1966–1968).

The professor preceded all conservation case studies with research on the object's history and iconographic studies – he supplemented them with the results of archeological and architectural works. For example, he presented rich material collected in this way in a series of articles published in the "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" ("Quarterly Journal of Architecture and Spatial Planning") regarding works carried out in the Bernardine monastery, in the church of St Clare and St Mary on the Sand and at the castle in Ostrów.

In 1972, he was forced to resign from the position of the Conservator of the city of Wrocław for opposing the demolition of the medieval Dominican sisters complex[19]. Krystyna Pilch performed this function for a short time, and then the Municipal Conservator's office ceased to be an independent administrative unit and was merged with the Office of the Provincial Conservator[20].

After completing his duties as the municipal conservator, Edmund Małachowicz was offered to participate in the reconstruction of the center of Baghdad. The proposal was extremely interesting because it was a vast urban-architectural undertaking of restoration and conservation character. However, the trip did not come to fruition – as a punishment for opposing the demolition of many historical buildings, the authorities of the time refused to hand the passport to the Professor.

In 1972 Edmund Małachowicz received a job offer from Jerzy Rozpędowski, then director of the Institute of History of Architecture, Art and Technology at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology. Very quickly – after a year, he obtained the title of habilitated doctor based on the dissertation entitled *Średniowieczne budowle jednofilarowe na Śląsku* (*Medieval Single-Pillar Buildings in Silesia*) [93]. The inspiration to take up this topic was the design for rebuilding the church of Peter and Paul prepared under the direction of Marcin Bukowski and scientific research in the church of St Giles in Ostrów Tumski (previously run by Tadeusz Kozaczewski). Along with obtaining the postdoctoral degree, Edmund Małachowicz received a nomination to the deputy head of the Institute of History of Architecture, Art and Technology, as well as an appointment to assistant professor. In 1974 he became a senior lecturer.

> [...] I led the students to the construction site and we watched everything together [...] [225].

18 In addition to studies on historic buildings in Wrocław, he also prepared a design for rebuilding the former manor house and adapting it to a pastoral center in Nawojów Łużycki (1967–1968).

19 The opposition proved to be very effective. The monastery still stands today. Its reconstruction and adaptation were carried out in the years 1975–1980 by the design of J. Maciejowska, A. Kamiński, and I. Węgrzyn.

20 In October 1991, after the political changes in Poland, under an agreement with the then provincial conservator working in the State Monument Protection Service, a competition for a municipal conservator position for the city of Wrocław was announced. The competition concluded in January 1992 – on 4 February 1992, the position was assumed by mgr inż. arch. K. Hawrylak-Brzezowska.

It was a collaboration between people from different scientific disciplines. There was an art historian, architectural historian, archaeologist, historian, architect. To solve the problem, the historian had to analyze written sources and assess their value. The archaeologist conducted excavations. The architect analysed the structure, form, body, plan, function. The decoration was the domain of an art historian [223].

The scientific achievements of Edmund Małachowicz can be traced based on many publications[21], of which the most important are: Mauzoleum Piastów Wrocławskich (the Mausoleum of Wrocław Piast Dynasty) [82], Katedra wrocławska (the Wrocław Cathedral) [78], and Stare Miasto we Wrocławiu. Zniszczenie, odbudowa, program (the Old Town in Wrocław, Destruction, Reconstruction, Programme) [92].

He conducted research, including on medieval polychromies in the garrison church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław (together with Czesław Lasota, 1978), he prepared designs and case studies – among them, worth mentioning are: the design for adaptation and conservation of historical arcaded houses in Lubiąż (co-author Andrzej Ilow, 1976), design for conservation and reconstruction of defensive walls in Głogów (co-authors: Jacek Kościuk and Maciej Małachowicz, 1976), conservation guidelines for the rebuilding of the Market Square in Wrocław (co-author: Jacek Kościuk, 1977), a historical and conservation study of the block at Uniwersytecki Square in Wrocław (co-author: Andrzej Ilow, 1977).

He taught classes in the broadly understood protection of monuments not only in Wrocław at the Faculty of Architecture, but also (in the years 1974–1981 as the visiting professor) in the United Kingdom (Liverpool), Republic of Malta, Iraq (Mosul). He tried to show the profession of architect-conservator from the practical side to his students. He also paid particular attention to the role of scientific research in developing design documents. In the years 1978–1981, he was the deputy director for the training of scientific staff (doctoral study).

Edmund Małachowicz combined the work of a scientist and a professionally active architect-designer. In Wrocław, he initiated the reconstruction of the northern frontage of Katedralna Street with the adaptation to the House of the Retired Priests (1976–1981) and presbytery buildings at Kanonia Street in Ostrów Tumski (1977–1979).

In 1979 he obtained the title of associate professor. He regularly conducted research and wrote scientific articles and monographs. He dealt with the problems of modernization of commercial and service buildings and complexes in Old Town buildings (co-authors: Grażyna Balińska, Jacek Kościuk, Krystyna Kirschke; 1980) and studied modern fortifications in Silesia (co-authors: Maciej Małachowicz, Andrzej Stupak; 1981–1985).

In 1981 he completed his next book entitled Wrocław na wyspach. Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny (Wroclaw on the Islands. Urban and Architectural Development) [96]. A year later, a script of his authorship was published – *Ochrona środowiska kulturowego* (*Protection of the Cultural Environment*) [84] comprehensively incorporating practical conservation knowledge enriched with theoretical foundations. He also prepared two more monographs – *Zespół pober-*

21 Apart from books, E. Małachowicz's oeuvre includes more than 50 scientific articles and chapters in monographs – all of it is stored in the database documenting the achievements of employees of the Wrocław University of Technology - DONA.

5. Edmund Małachowicz (second from left) during the reconstruction of the Rasos military cemetery, Vilnius (1993); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

nardyński (the *Post-Bernardine Complex*) [98] and *Stare Miasto we Wrocławiu* (the *Old Town in Wrocław*) [92]; both appeared in print in 1985.

In 1992, he created the Department of Architectural Conservation and Spatial Planning (Zakład Konserwacji Architektury i Urbanistyki)[22]. In 1985–1988, he continued researching the castle in Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław (co-author: Czesław Lasota), and also created a design for the development of its relics (co-author: Andrzej Stupak). He also participated in the studies on typicality in the architecture of the façades of tenement houses from the period of 19th and 20th-century historicism in Wrocław (co-authors: Stanisław Medeksza, Marzanna Jagiełło, Krystyna Kirschke, Maciej Małachowicz, Andrzej Stupak; 1987).

In 1987–1989, he worked in Vilnius in the supervision of conservation works carried out by PKZ. In the meantime, he began implementing his probably best-known design, i.e., the spires on the towers of the Wrocław cathedral (1988–1991).

In 1989 he became a full professor[23]. He continued his work at the Faculty of Architecture, but also returned to Vilnius to research the Rasos and Antakalnis cemeteries (1989–91). The results of his scientific work were included in the publications: *Fortyfikacje Wilna* (*Fortifications of Vilnius*) [76, 77], *Cmentarz na Rossie w Wilnie* (*Rosos Cemetery in Vilnius*) [74], *Wilno. Dzieje, architektura, cmentarze* (*Vilnius. History, Architecture, Cemeteries*) [95]. He also completed his design of rebuilding the military sections and burial site of Home Army soldiers in Rasos Cemetery (1990–1993).

22 Later, the name was shortened to the Department of Conservation and Restoration of Architecture.

23 One of the requirements for obtaining the title at the time was to have ten conferred doctoral dissertations.

In 1991 he returned to the duties of the head of his Department, which changed its name to the Department of Conservation and Restoration of Architecture at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology. He published subsequent monographic studies, this time closely related to Wrocław, including among others: *Wrocław na wyspach. Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny* (*Wrocław on the islands. Urban and Architectural Development*) [96], *Kościół z klasztorem św. Wincentego we Wrocławiu* (*St Vincent's Church and Monastery in Wrocław, co-author: Wojciech Brzezowski*) [15], *Wrocławski zamek książęcy i kolegiata św. Krzyża na Ostrowie* (*Wrocław's Ducal Castle and Collegiate Church of St Cross in Ostrów*) [97] or *Książęce rezydencje, fundacje i mauzolea w lewobrzeżnym Wrocławiu* (*Ducal Residences, Foundations, and Mausoleums in Left-bank Wrocław*) [81]. He summarized his conservation practice in the academic handbook – *Konserwacja i rewaloryzacja architektury w środowisku kulturowym* (*Conservation and Restoration of Architecture in a Cultural Environment*) [80], which is an extension and supplement to the previously published script[24].

In 1995, he began the reconstruction of the second Vilnius military cemetery in Antakalnis and excavations at the Wrocław cathedral (together with Czesław Lasota and Maciej Małachowicz). The essential design works from this period were: the extension of cathedral towers with spires in Częstochowa (1996–1997), reconstruction of the interior color in the garrison church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław (1997), reconstruction of the underground reserve and exhibition of relics of 10th–12th century architecture in the Wrocław cathedral (1998), as well as the design for conservation and restoration of the tower of the Benedictine monastery church in Lubiń (1998).

In 2000, an exhibition summarizing almost 50 years of achievements of Edmund Małachowicz's professional and scientific work was held at the Museum of Architecture in Wrocław[25]. This exhibition was also presented in Warsaw. In 2001, in recognition of his achievements, the Professor was awarded the prestigious honorary award of the Association of Polish Architects for outstanding service to Polish architecture[26]. He devoted the following years to scientific work focused on searching for traces of the oldest Silesian religious architecture. In the years 2008–2009, he carried out the conservation of the episcopal crypt along with the display of relics in the Wrocław cathedral. In his opinion, the last essential publication in the professor's plentiful oeuvre is Katedra wrocławska (Wrocław Cathedral), summarizing many years of research.

Edmund Małachowicz was a member of foreign scientific organizations such as FSG Fortress Study Group (United Kingdom) and International Committee of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). He actively participated in the authorities of national scientific organizations: chairman of the Scientific Councils at the Min-

24 Four editions of this manual have been published so far. The book is mainly written with architects and students of architecture faculties in mind. All information is given in terms of active design activities in a complex that is a cultural asset. It comprehensively covers issues related to the protection and conservation of architecture and architectural detail, revalorization of historical urban complexes, and cultural landscape, as well as basic information on the principles of preservation of works of art.

25 Organized by the Association of Conservators, the Silesian Branch.

26 An example of E. Małachowicz's activity was also used by the author to discuss the issue of the importance of protecting historical buildings; see [37, pp. 461–474].

6. Employees of the Department of Architecture and Greenery Maintenance and Revalorization; upper left: prof. dr hab. inż. arch. E. Łużyniecka, M. Głos, dr hab. inż. arch. K. Kirschke, dr hab. inż. arch. M. Jagiełło, lower left: dr inż. arch. M. Małachowicz, dr inż. arch. P. Szkoda, prof. dr hab. inż. arch. E. Małachowicz, dr hab. inż. arch. W. Brzezowski (dr inż. arch. A. Legendziewicz, absent in the photo, was also an employee of the department); photo: R. Karnicki, from the archives of the Department of Conservation and Revalorization of Architecture and Greenery

istry of Culture and Arts, member of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1991–1999). In 1994 he was accepted as a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences[27]. He was the editor-in-chief of the "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" (Quarterly Journal of Architecture and Spatial Planning) of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1994–1999), vice president of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Wrocław, member of the presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1999–2006).

The professor has received many awards for architectural and conservation activities, including the Minister of Construction's for the design of the Museum of Architecture, the Minister of Culture's (twice), the Minister of National Education's (1975, 1977, 1997), the prize of Brother Albert (1997) and the honorary award of the Association of Polish Architects (2001). In 2007, he received the Jan Zachwatowicz award awarded by the Polish National Committee of the International Council for the Protection of Monuments (ICOMOS) in Poland[28].

7. Boxes carved by Edmund Małachowicz; photo: E.G.

27 Edmund Małachowicz is the third architect who became a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences (the first was J. Koszczyc-Witkiewicz and the second was J. Zachwatowicz.

28 In 2014, the same Committee additionally awarded the Professor a medal for his services in the field of conservation.

Edmund Małachowicz collected coins, which he kept in hand-made, intricately carved caskets. He was also interested in motoring.

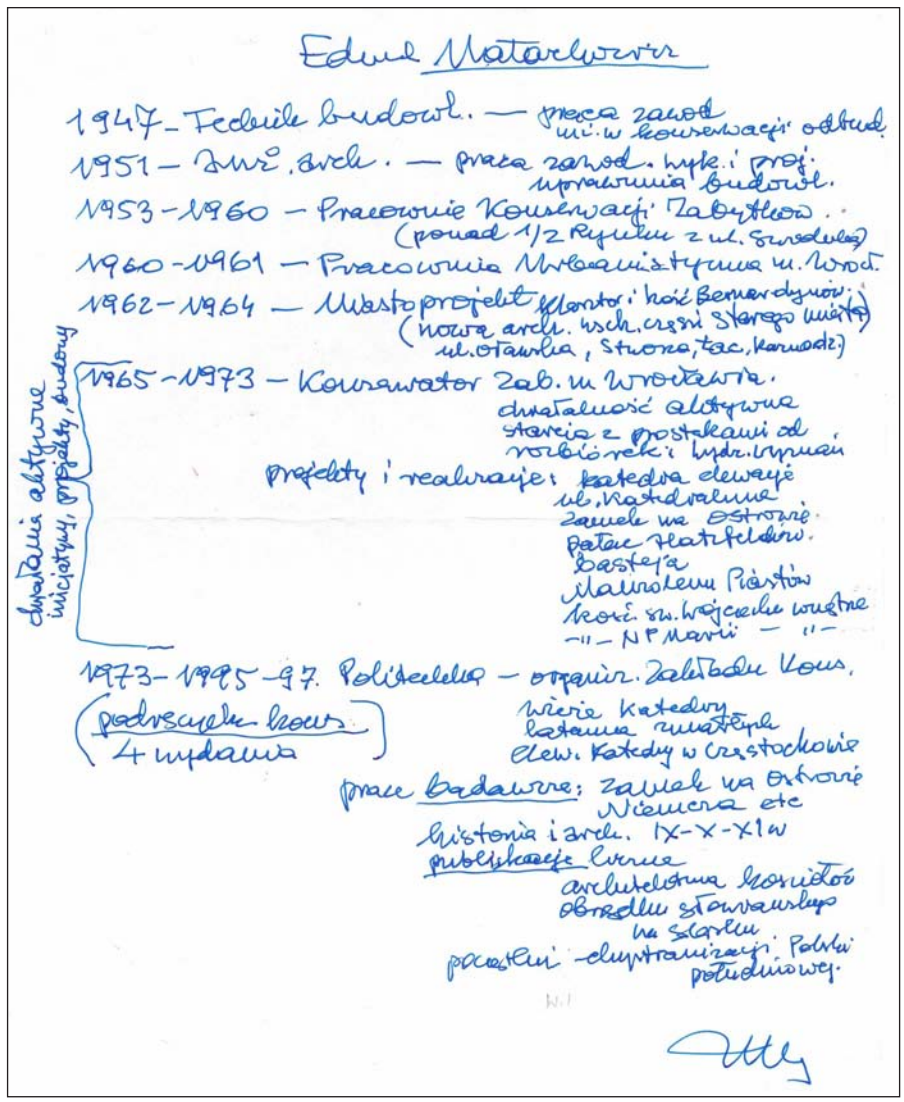
Professor Edmund Małachowicz died on July 3, 2015.

His conservation activities are continued by his son Maciej Małachowicz and granddaughter Anna Małachowicz, as well as the associates from the Department founded by the Professor, known as the Department of Architecture and Greenery Conservation and Restoration since 2013 [69. p. 73–86].

Subsequent generations of students throughout Poland have always been using the books and the textbook by Edmund Małachowicz because the knowledge they contain is still valid.

On the initiative of Professor Olgierd Czerner, a committee was created to prepare a plaque commemorating Professor Edmund Małachowicz – its ceremonial unveiling took place on July 3, 2019, in the Wrocław cathedral.

8. Handwritten professional resume by Edmund Małachowicz



1 Design work carried out in the State Enterprise of Monument Conservation Workshops. Time of great post-war reconstruction

1953–1990

In 1945, Wrocław found itself within the borders of the Republic of Poland – it was the largest city in the so-called Recovered Territories, simultaneously largely devastated. Wrocław was recognized as a peculiar icon of the Western Territories that were „returning to the motherland", as evidenced by the organization of the Exhibition of Regained Territories and the World Congress of Intellectuals in Defense of Peace in 1948[1].

The process of rebuilding the city started relatively quickly. In a country devastated by war and without external financial assistance, it was necessary to designate areas that had to be put in order first. In Wrocław, it was the Old Town, especially the Market and Solny squares, and monumental buildings of high architectural value, such as the Cathedral of John the Baptist [18]. Rubble removal from the city and demolition of ruins threatened with collapse began. Some of the recovered bricks were transported, among others, to Warsaw, Kraków, or Rzeszów[2]. All these activities took place in an atmosphere of uncertainty regarding the status of Wrocław as a Polish city. Nevertheless, public interest in the reconstruction was considerable. Practically every day, information appeared in the press regarding the progress of works at the tenement houses in the Market Square, as well as plans for further reconstruction. The inhabitants of Wrocław also undertook a number of grassroots activities aimed at saving monuments[3].

1 The Presidium of the Congress comprised of: I. Joliot-Curie, J. Huxley, A. Fadiejew, M.A. Nexo, R. Gutuso. The guest who aroused the greatest interest, however, was Pablo Picasso.

2 During the rubble removal operation in Wrocław, mistakes and abuse were not avoided. Some historic buildings were demolished, e.g., the baroque part of the City Arsenal, rear façades of tenement houses at 47–49 Wita Stwosza Street. There are also known cases of illegal brick sales and demolition of buildings with minor damage. The most famous example was the so-called Mondszajn scandal. See [30, p. 493].

3 1954 marks the beginning of cooperation between the Lower Silesian Conservator and the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society. The first congress of social guardians of monuments in Lower Silesia took place a year later in Świdnica. After the political thaw in 1956, the Association of Lovers of the City of Wrocław was founded. J. Przyłęcki – former president of TMW, says that

During the reconstruction of the cathedral, Marcin Bukowski consulted the design with German priests and they would say *So war es* [so it was, ed. E. G.]. They did the reconstruction indiscriminately, while it was possible to avoid the mistakes... [225].

The assumptions adopted during the reconstruction of the city were the result of the achievements of Polish and German conservation. Fortunately, the Construction Archives survived with a rich collection of plans, designs, and drawings of Wroclaw monuments. Among surviving items, there were case studies by Rudolf Stein reconstructing the frontages of the Market Square as of about 1800 together with a spatial model of the buildings[4]. They became the basis for many reconstruction designs.

Plans to reconstruct the damaged urban tissue were carried out per the postulates of Jan Zachwatowicz, although in the case of Wrocław, it was necessary to refer to the „living memory" that was not so much Polish, but German[5]. It overlapped with political requirements for architects who had to create new designs in the spirit of socialist realism[6]. Thus, former burgher houses were adapted for workers' flats. In the rebuilt monuments, socialist realism was mainly manifested in the reconstruction of their historical façades with the often changed internal layout[7]. It was mainly due to strict adherence to the standard for the usable area per assumed number of inhabitants.

In 1953, in the reconstruction climate shaped in this way, engineer Edmund Małachowicz started working at the State Enterprise of Monument Conservation Workshops (PP PKZ) in the studio then headed by Marcin Bukowski. He quickly gained design independence and took the position of the head of one of the studios[8].

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thanks to the initiative of the members of the association, it was possible to save Wroclaw Jatki street [231]. Their interventions were indirect (by reporting illegal demolitions to the Provincial Conservator) or direct. See [119, p. 102].

4 Rudolf Stein (1899–1978) architect and art historian. He was a municipal construction counselor and conservator in Wrocław. He managed, among others, works on the renovation of the Town Hall. In 1935, he made designs for the conservation of the under the Griffins Renaissance tenement house. He removed 19th-century modifications, including a store window. He tried to restore the appearance of the façade based on the drawing of H. Mützel from 1824 (he supplemented the cornices, among other things). In his studies, he utilized both the reconstruction of historical forms and stylish analogy. In this perspective, the activity of Polish architects in the Wrocław Market Square after 1945 can be considered a continuation of his plan, and also perfectly fits into the assumptions of socialist realist reconstruction.

5 See [157, pp. 48–52].

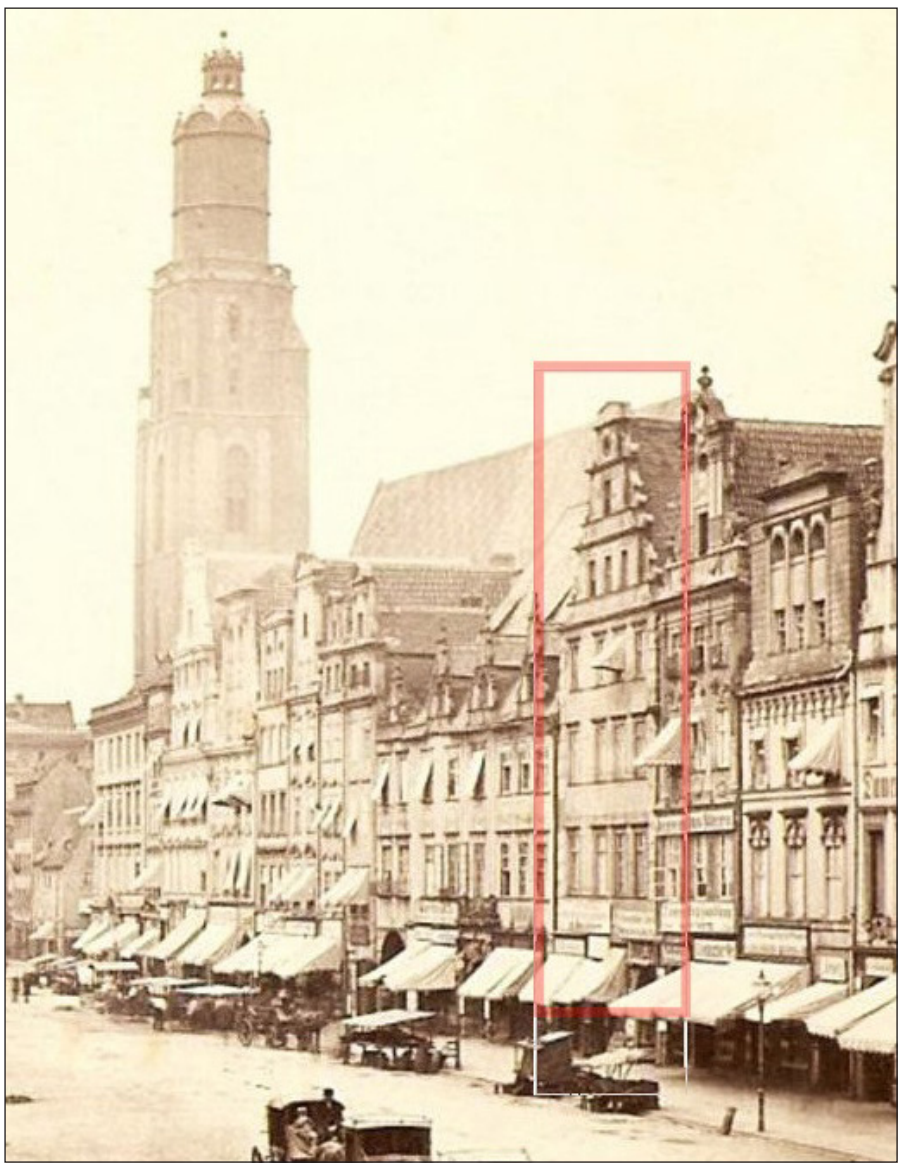
6 Socialist realism is a direction in the art of the USSR and other socialist countries. The works were characterized by a realistic, undistorted form, referring to traditional and classic patterns. See: [65]. The year 1949 can be considered the beginning of socialist realism in Poland. The congress of the National Party Council of Architects took place in that year, at which new canons of architectural design in the spirit of socialist realism were defined. According to the resolution adopted at the meeting: "KPNA commits Party members to accept the fight for a breakthrough in our architectural creation, for the implementation of socialist architecture to fight against cosmopolitanism, constructivism, formalism, to fight for a creative reference to the great architectural heritage of Poland and the world". See Resolution of the National Party Council of Architects [123, p. 162].

7 See [63, pp. 61–81].

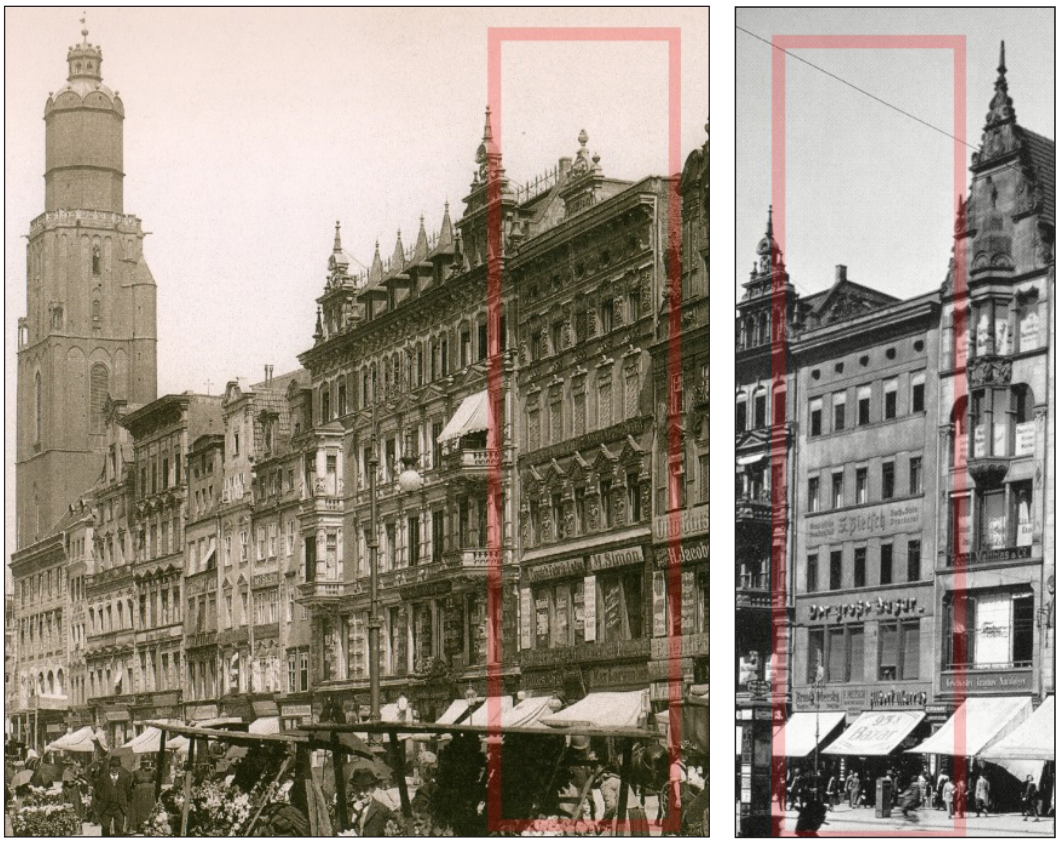
8 PP PKZ was created under the Regulation of the Ministry of Culture and Arts of 25 August 1950, regarding the establishment of a state-owned enterprise called Monument Conservation Studios – a separate state enterprise. See [104, p. 897]. At that time, the headquarters of the Wrocław branch of PKZ was located at Nowy Targ 1/8.

1.1 House under the Crescent, 51 Rynek (1953–1960) – reconstruction and adaptation design for a residential building with services on the ground floor

Edmund Małachowicz's first major project was the reconstruction of a tenement house in the northern frontage of Wroclaw's Market Square, number 51. The oldest preserved part of the building was a medieval, two-bay cellar. Until the 17th century, the façade of the building was four-storey, crowned with a three-zone gable enclosed in a series of flowing, small scrolls [25, p. 140]. It was



9. House under the Crescent (highlighted) – a fragment of the Market Square view before 1870 [236, access: 12.10.2014]



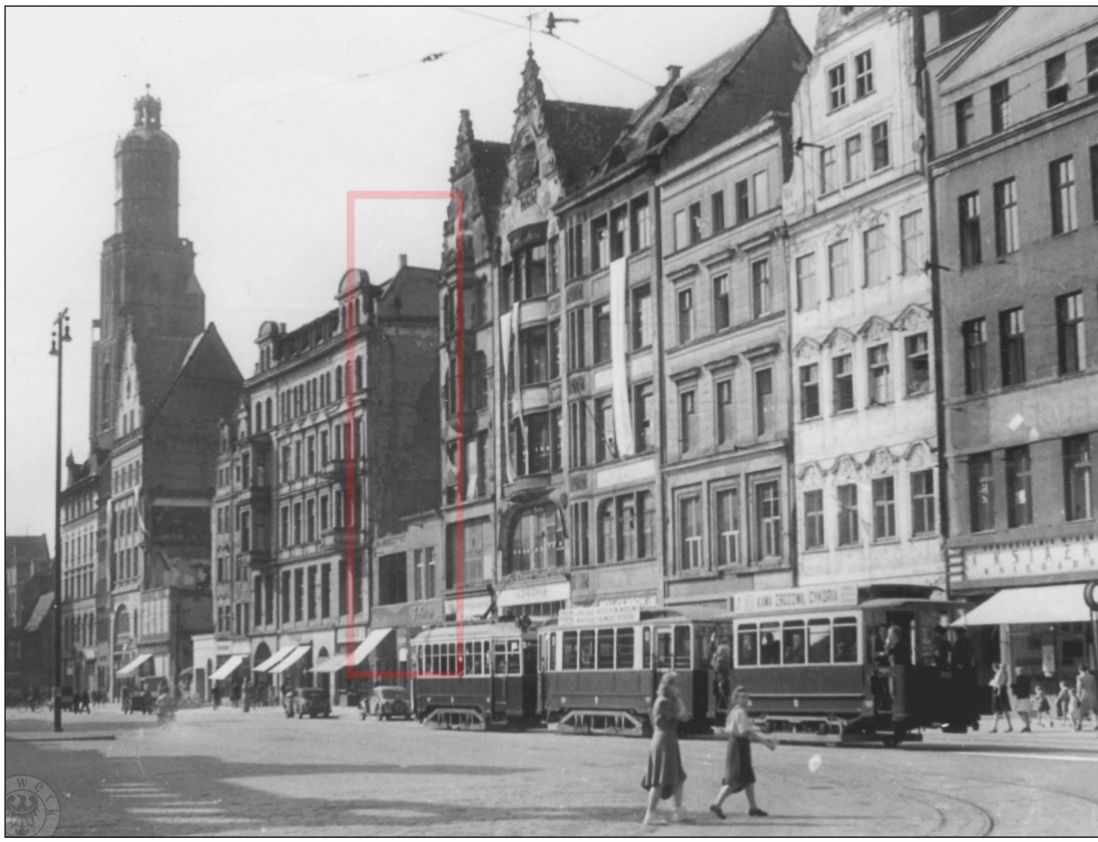
10. House under the Crescent (highlighted) – a fragment of the frontage view: on the left from ca. 1890, on the right from ca. 1926 [236]

demolished in 1870, and a commercial and residential building with a skeleton structure was built in its place. From the side of the Market Square, the building had a five-storey, historicizing façade with a prominent, horizontal crowning cornice. At the beginning of the 20th century, the façade was stripped of detail and left smoothly plastered.

After World War II, the degree to which the building was destroyed was estimated at 70%. The façade survived to the height of the first floor, with visible signs of reconstruction from the 19th century[9]. The rear elevation survived to the full height of the building. From the elements recognized as historical, basements and vaults survived – especially two gothic spans from the courtyard, partly the ground floor, part of the upper storey walls (with the remains of a staircase), and two fragments of stonework embedded in the annexe walls in 1870 [172].

The inventory measurement of the ruined object was made in 1953 by R. Hlawski. In the same year, Edmund Małachowicz began to prepare the initial reconstruction

9 The historical layout of the interior and façade was changed: the entrance was located in the middle, and four large display windows were made (the two outermost had a shape close to a square with low sill walls, the other two were arranged on both sides of the entrance door in the form of an elongated rectangle 4 m high). The arrangement of windows on the first floor was also changed: the window on the left side was changed to a triple one; on the right side, two more openings were placed, disturbing the symmetry of the elevation.



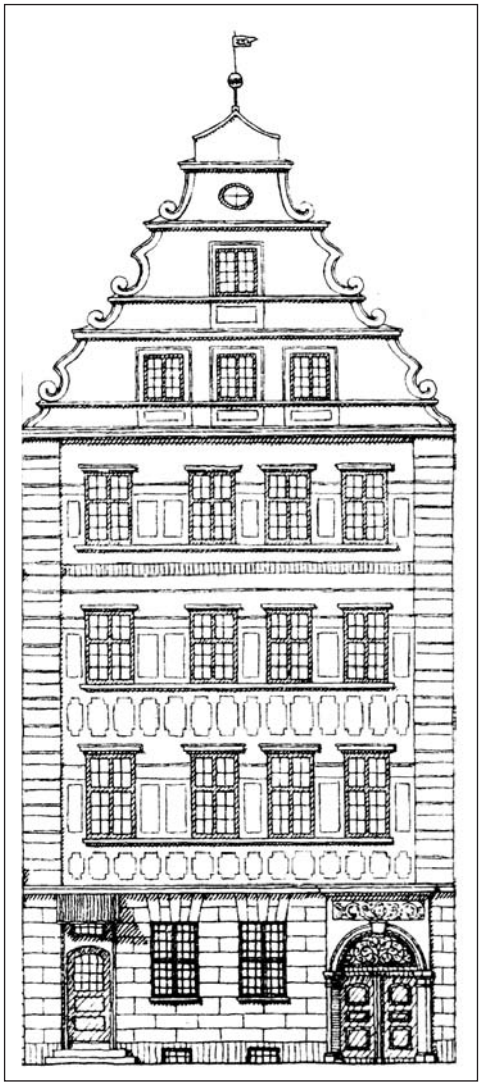
11. The marked gap in the development of the frontage of the Wrocław Market Square was created after the destruction of building № 51 (1946–1950) [236, access: 10.11.2014]

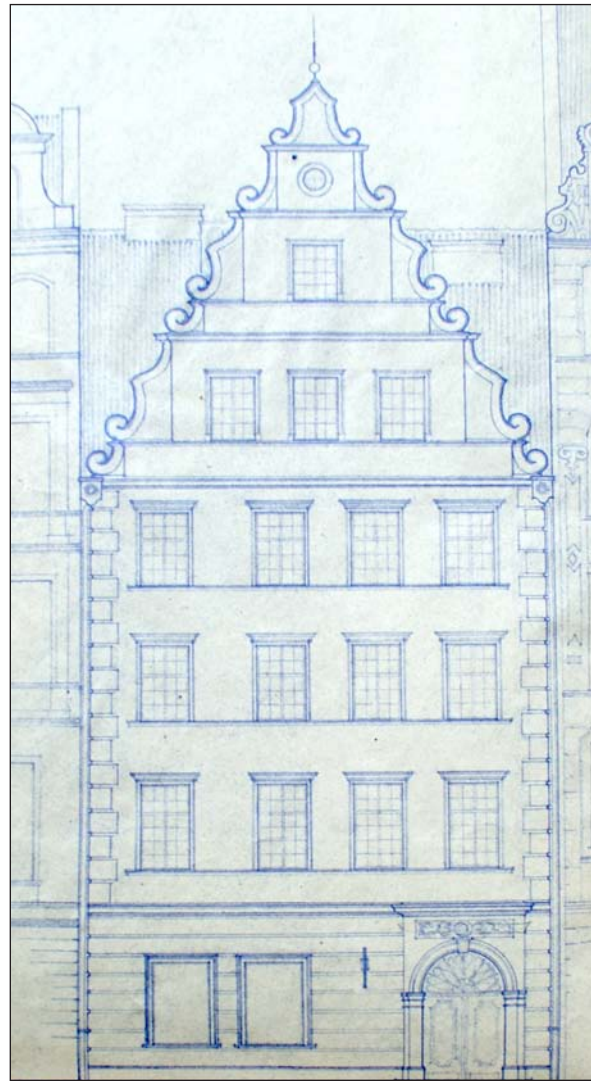
documentation. The design envisaged maintaining the old building line from the Market Square, while the demolition of the outbuilding was assumed. The depth of the main body was to be 19.30 m. Two spans of the gothic vault of the cellars and part of the walls of the ground floor were planned to be preserved. The remaining fragments of the vaults and parts of the walls of the ground floor (from the 17th-century reconstruction) – due to poor technical condition, negligible architectural value and shape, which hindered the proper solution of the building and boiler room structure[10] – were to be demolished and replaced with a reinforced concrete ceiling.

The building was designed as a five-storey, gable layout, serving mainly a residential function, with commercial premises on the ground floor. The basements were planned to be used as an anti-aircraft shelter[11]. On the ground floor, the main entrance was shifted eastwards; the hallway was expanded – this way, instead of two narrow premises and a long narrow corridor, an elegant entrance

10 The boiler room was to be used only by the service areas. In the remaining rooms, furnaces were designed for use.

11 The 1950s were a period of political instability in Europe and the world due to tense relations between the USSR and the USA. Hence, many of the buildings were designed as anti-aircraft shelters. In the tenement house Under the Crescent, the area of the shelter was supposed to be 15 m^2 – this is the size envisaged for 25 people, i.e., half of the predicted occupants of the building.





12. House under the Crescent – a fragment of the reconstruction of the northern frontage of the Wrocław Market Square (ca. 1800); by [136]

13. House under the crescent – front façade [174]

and commercial premises with a shape enabling easy adaptation to the commercial function were obtained. The stairs leading from the ground floor to the first floor were changed from treatment to straight one-speed, three-level stairs were adopted on the other floors. A backyard well illuminated the staircase and kitchen premises in the apartments. On the upper floors, apartments were designed in accordance with the binding norms of the time: as one and two-room apartments with a separate kitchen and bathrooms[12]. There was a laundry in the attic.

12 In the years 1952–1953, the area indicators were 16–21 m^2 for a one-room apartment with a kitchenette, 24–30 m^2 for a one-room apartment with a kitchen, 30.5–39 m2 for a two-room apartment with a kitchen for 2 people, 41–50 m^2 for a two-room apartment with a kitchen for 4 people, and 50.5–56.5 m^2 for a three-room apartment with a kitchen ([154, p. 1]. In 1954, a new resolution on housing design norms came into force, increasing the area slightly to the same extent: 18–22 m^2, 28–39 m^2, 41–50 m^2 for 2-room apartments, and 51–58 m^2 for

The basis for the design of the front façade was the reconstruction of R. Stein reconstructing the condition from around 1800, made in the 1930s [136]. The façade drawing from the initial design phase contained general divisions of the previous façade into the ground floor distinguished by horizontal divisions in plaster, a four-axis, three-story middle part, and a three-zone gable with runoffs. All proportions of window openings were also determined. For functional reasons, the second entrance, visible at Stein's, was abandoned, and the window openings of the ground floor were enlarged. Likewise, in the gable part, some ogees were shaped in a different way than presented in the mentioned iconography.

In 1954 Edmund Małachowicz developed a technical reconstruction design. At this stage, he detailed the way to solve the interior, especially the hall with stairs. The design assumed covering it with a cross vault in a layout typical of historical burgher houses in Wrocław. Due to the lack of iconographic materials of the hall, it was decided to embed preserved sculptural fragments in its walls.

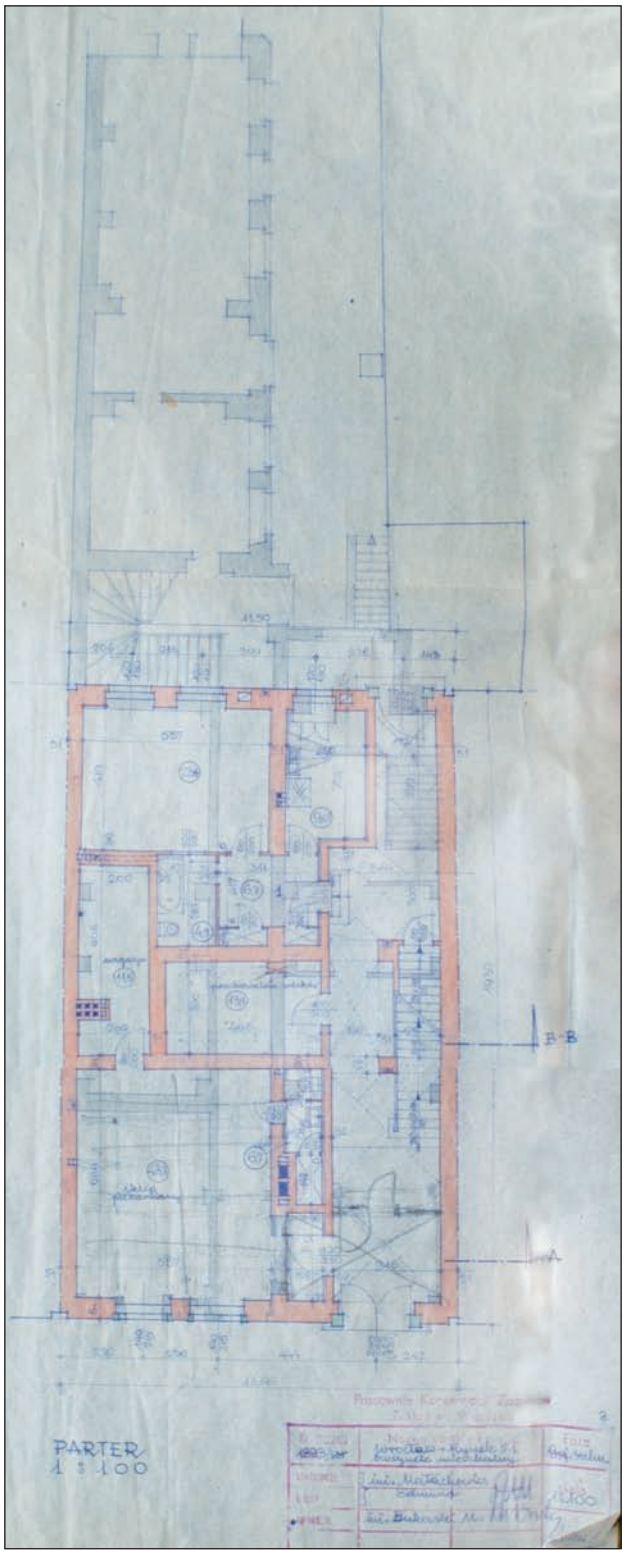
Because the design assumed the rebuilding of the façade in the spirit of the Renaissance, in order to reproduce it as faithfully as possible, Edmund Małachowicz conducted a comparative analysis of Stein's engraving with other iconographic materials: Werner's engraving from 1740, two photographs from 1870, a drawing by Loeillot from around 1850 and own notes from the construction archives. The information obtained in this way allowed him to recover façade proportions, window arrangement, cornices, and gable decorations. The rich panel decoration on the first and second floors, visible in Stein's drawing, was considered to be insufficiently documented – that is why it was omitted in the design. He also abandoned the idea of joining the windows with a common window ledge. The applied solutions show striving for stylish homogeneity, which is confirmed by the elimination of baroque window mirrors visible at the initial design stage. In the design, the Professor also assumed portal reconstruction with a silhouette consistent with Stein's reconstruction – with a bas-relief referring to the former name of the house under the Crescent. The plastered façade has a stone pedestal, tops of the gable and window bands.

The building was equipped with all necessary installations: sewage, electricity, and gas. The structural walls were to be made of brick (both new and demolition); the ceilings were designed in Ackerman technology. A reinforced concrete structure was planned in the staircases. A gable roof and wooden truss covered with tiles were also designed. The interior walls were to be finished with lime plaster, in hygienic and sanitary rooms painted with oil paint. The standard of each flat floor finishing depended on the intended use of the room – in the rooms, there was a wooden stave, in the kitchen – terrazzo, and in the bathrooms – cement.

The design was positively assessed by the PP PKZ Technical Council, although one of its members – Adam Szybiński expressed his doubts about the asymmetry of the front façade, the concerns related to the supposition that "the majority of society would see this as an error resulting from the work on the

The basic guideline was Stein's catalogue. The interiors were made as modern as possible. We recreated all elements of the stonemasonry in such a way that they were the truest to period. They were not authentic, but the truest to period [...]. [231]

3-room apartments. Moreover, a floor space increase of 10% was allowed in the case of reconstructing historical buildings [144].



14. House under the Crescent – ground floor plan [174]

design or construction of the building"[13]. Despite these comments, the design was approved and submitted for implementation.

At the executive stage, other small changes were introduced. In line with Stein's proposal, the direction of the needles was reversed. The entrance portal was abandoned and replaced with an authentic one, which was moved from the façade of the Rynek 13 tenement house, only the missing elements had to be added. Due to the location of the house under the Crescent tenement house in the northern frontage of the Market Square and the inability to design large apartments, some rooms, as Olgierd Czerner notes, were completely devoid of the sun [25, p. 23] The building was completed in 1956 and, successfully subjected to minor modernizations and renovations, has been in use for decades. Currently, the ground floor serves a catering function.

The reconstruction of the tenement house № 51 can be considered a retrospective creation. Only cellars had historical character. After the destruction of the tenement house in 1945, it was necessary to fill the gap in the frontage. The restoration of the Renaissance form was in line with the general assumptions of rebuilding the Wrocław Market Square[14].

13 Supplemental report on the preliminary design of the second study for the reconstruction of a residential building located in Wrocław at Rynek 51 [173, pp. 34–36].

14 The object was registered as a monument in 1970 under the number: A/1531/275.

15. House under the Crescent (2014); photo: E.G.

1.2 Northern frontage of the inner block of the Market Square, 9, 13–22 Rynek-Ratusz (1955) – non-finalized study design for the reconstruction of the inner block

Since the Middle Ages, there was a set of buildings forming a compact block in the middle of Wroclaw's Market Square. Until World War II, its northern frontage was occupied by buildings mostly from the 18th century (№ 9, 13–15a, 16, 20–22). The oldest object - dated to the 17th century was a Mannerist tenement house № 17. In the 19th century, large store windows were added to the ground floors of the buildings, and additional floors were built (№ 14 and 17). Some tenements were combined – 15a with 15b, 13, and 1420 with 21.

During the siege of Wrocław in 1945, some of them were destroyed. In 1955, Edmund Małachowicz, together with Józef Rachwalski prepared a preliminary design for the reconstruction of the northern side of the inner block. The tenement houses № 9, 13–22 received a more detailed study due to the greatest degree of destruction. Tenements № 13/14 practically did not exist, and numbers 7, 20/21, and 23 were seriously damaged. House № 9 suffered relatively little damage. Other buildings survived in a relatively good condition.

The preliminary design for the reconstruction of the northern frontage was of a study character. Its goal was primarily to determine the method of lot parceling, dimensions, façade divisions, the shape of roofs and gables, as well as building functions. The study included expanded views of the façades and clarification of the layout and division of interiors. The top-down imposed functional programme mainly focused on flats, had the greatest impact on the type

16. Inner block, northern frontage, front elevations, inventory (1995) [171]

of solutions adopted in the design. The degree of façade preservation was also taken into account.

As in the case of the House under the Crescent, the basements were designated as shelters. Minor services were planned on the ground floor, e.g., an orthopaedist's office (in building № 22), a linen factory (20/21), an artistic lace mending shop (18/19), a stocking ladder mending shop (17), a fountain pen repair shop (16), an embroidery factory and a photographer studio (15), a watchmaker's and a cosmetics factory (14/13). The other floors had apartments designed. These were usually one- or two-room apartments with kitchen and bathroom. Some apartments in the attics had three-rooms, e.g., in building № 14/13 or 15. In order to increase the usable floor space, buildings in neighboring plots were connected by common vertical communication: 13 with 14, 16 with 17, 18 with 19, 20/21 with 22, 7–8 with 9. Giving up on staircases in each building also improved lighting conditions and optimized the ventilation of apartments („cross-section airflow"). The necessity to change the function forced designers to interfere in the existing spatial arrangements of the objects. Efforts were made to preserve important historical communication routes, such as the gateway in building № 13. Modern housing requirements and the surviving structure were taken into account in the layout of the apartments. The applied surface norm resulted in distorting the proportions of historical interiors by reducing their area in relation to the height.

The old buildings became shallower as in building № 9, where the rear wall was moved away from the Town Hall by over 3 m[15]. The kitchens were located

15 Reducing the building density of the blocks, among others, by demolishing the outbuildings was planned before the war. One can see in these activities the implementation of the postulates of the Athens Charter regarding the provision of proper sunlight and ventilation of apartments. An example of a design that assumed outbuilding removal and inner recreational block arrangement could be the reconstruction of the block between Odrzańska, Nożownicza, Więzienna, and Kotlarska [92, p. 81].

17. Interior block, northern frontage, front façades, preliminary design [171]

from the side of the lighting wells or access to sunlight was made possible through transom windows. Dormers were designed for apartments in the attic. The basic assumption in shaping the façade was striving to maintain the historical form and proportion of buildings. In the design process, the authors used drawings by Rudolf Stein, depicting objects from before the 19th century redevelopments[16]. The key measures taken were the reintegration of lost elements of the buildings, adaptation to new functions, and style-appropriate adjustment of the buildings' ground floors to the historical façade. The factor taken into account in shaping the façades was also the degree of neighboring buildings' preservation.

16 See [137], the extension of the elevation of the northern frontage of the tret in Wrocław.

18. Market Square inner block, northern frontage (2014); photo: E.G.

Functional considerations also dictated changes in the appearance of the façade, e.g., in building № 18/19 the store window was removed not only on the ground floor, but also the first floor – the room was adapted to the residential function. The destroyed house № 13/14 was designed in a simplified, frontage-integrated form, not referring to historical forms. Building № 15 was seemingly divided within the façade into two narrower objects with general divisions similar to those shown in Stein's drawings. In house № 17, the gable rebuilt in the 19th century was restored[17].

17 It is puzzling to see a complete change of style in the classicist tenement house № 22, which was turned into Baroque by the designers. Another example could be the non-restoration of the classicist portal from building № 16.

Further work on the Wrocław inner block northern frontage reconstruction design was taken over by the studio headed by Stanisław Koziczuk, operating as part of the Miastoprojekt Wrocław state company[18]. The construction designs were based primarily on Stein's studies, while Edmund Małachowicz and Józef Rachwalski referred to an earlier period, using a smaller scale of some houses[19].

1.3 Former Hatzfeld Palace, 31/32 Wita Stwosza Street (1955, 1956) – unrealized design of reconstruction and adaptation for the seat of the Library of the National Ossoliński Institute (phase one)

The reconstruction of the Hatzfeld palace[20] located in the block marked by the streets of Wita Stwosza, św. Wita and Krowia was a unique design in the conservation works of Edmund Małachowicz. The building was erected in 1765–1773 by the design of Isidore Ganevale (1730–1786) and Carl Gotthard Langhans (1732–1808)[21]. In preserved iconography, it is a four-story building with a horizontally oriented façade, with the main entrance accented by a portico from today's Wita Stwosza Street. The building was built on a quadrangle plan, with an internal courtyard. It was one of the first and, at the same time, the most successful realizations in the classical style in the city. In 1802, it became a property of the Prussian Treasury for administrative purposes.

During World War II, the building faced serious devastation. The upper floors were damaged as a result of artillery fire from a position in Nowy Targ square led by German soldiers. The photo from 1946 still shows the façade from the side of Wita Stwosza Street – it collapsed shortly afterwards.

Immediately after World War II, despite significant damage, the palace was classified as a monument[22] – however, it was not designated for urgent recon-

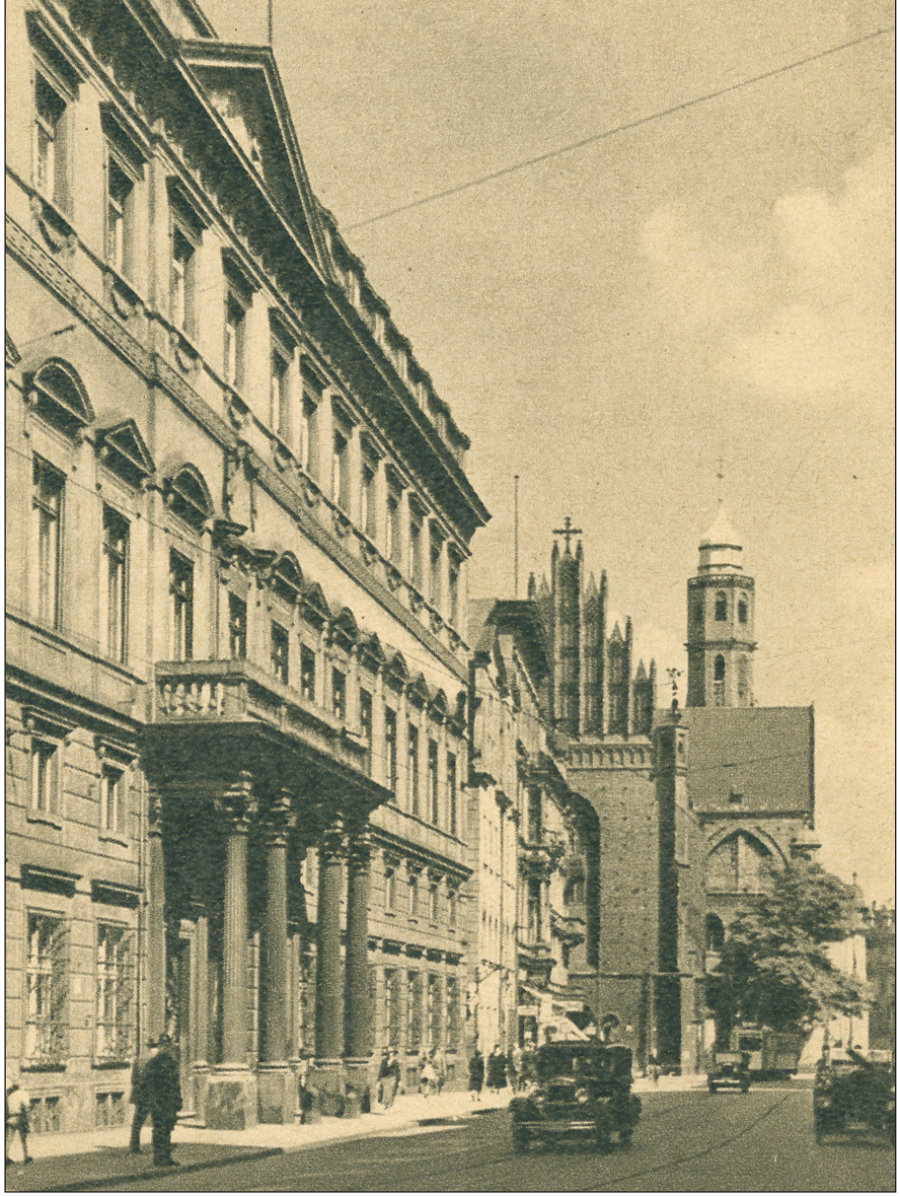
18 An overview of individual buildings constructed, together with the authors, is provided in the book [25, pp. 142–144]. All of them were entered into the Register of Historical Monuments of the city of Wrocław in 1970.

19 As was the case with buildings № 14/13 and 15.

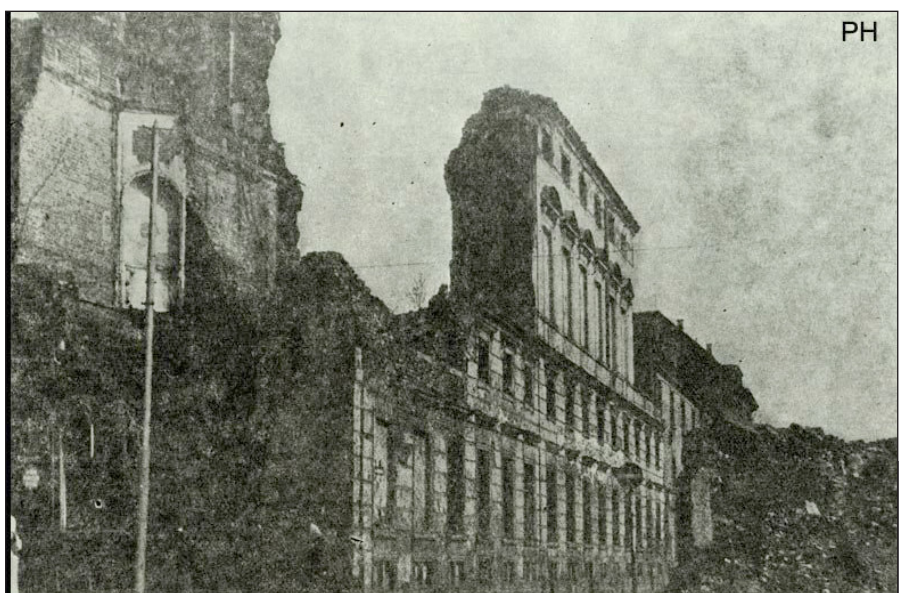
20 In the 16th century, there were two buildings at the location of the current one: palaces of the dukes of Oleśnica and the dukes of Brzeg. Their remnants probably survived as fragments of the cellar walls. In 1714 Franz von Hatzfeld acquired the area adjacent to the existing palace of the Oleśnicki princes. Then he commissioned the construction of his new residence to architect Christoph Hackner. In 1722, a baroque-style building was erected, which was destroyed in 1760 during the siege of the city by the Austrian army; based on [6, p. 19]. This work describes the building built in place of the first Hatzfeld palace, which survived until 1945 along with interior decoration and furnishings.

21 Controversy regarding the authorship of the design is described in [54, pp. 13–39].

22 Cf.: a plan of Wrocław with the designation of historical buildings from 1935 and the programme of reconstruction of historical streets and urban complexes of the Old Town from 1952, in: [92, pp. 72, 73, 102].



19. Hatzfeld palace (ca. 1920) [62]



20. Hatzfeld palace (ca. 1950) [44]

struction before the five-year plan of 1955–1960[23]. The design was commissioned to the Wrocław branch of PP PKZ, and Edmund Małachowicz became the main designer. In 1955, as an inventory of the building began, the northern part of the structure practically no longer existed. The best-preserved parts were the ground floor (along with part of the vaults), basements (partly filled with debris), and a side staircase in the west wing. All rooms and the inner courtyard were cluttered with debris. In addition to the external walls, among the preserved parts were a historical hall with sculptures, a portico and a large part of window stonework. Basement cradle vaults, part of the ground-floor vaults with a cross pattern, and part with an elliptical arc (both with and without lunettes) also survived. Then, the front of the building remained only up to the mezzanine height, and, from the courtyard side, up to the height of the fourth floor. The façade from Krowia Street, which survived to the height of the fourth floor, was best preserved (except for the corner at Wita Stwosza Street). Only fragments of walls remained on the third floor, including fragments of elegant rooms and a staircase. The fourth floor existed only in the form of remnants of the wall from the courtyard side and in the west wing. The interior architecture was preserved in a rudimentary form, mainly as Rococo stucco decorations on the walls and ceilings.

When drawing up the inventory drawings, a fragment of a Gothic wall with a Polish bond was found in the basement (medium brick dimensions: 8 × 11 × 25 cm). The built-up area[24] was estimated at 2567 m^2. Based on measurements and iconographic studies, Edmund Małachowicz prepared the first design for the reconstruction of the palace[25]. The preliminary design phase was completed on 10 March 1956[26].

Due to the large volume, it was decided to divide the building among two institutions: the Provincial Library, which was to receive 20,000 m^3, and the Ossolineum Publishing House – 19,000 m^3. The designation of some rooms for laboratories of the provincial and municipal conservator of monuments was also considered. Regarding the shape of the building, the palace reconstruction assumed to model the restored façade on a historical one. The interiors were planned to be equipped with modern installations and an elevator.

The original arrangement of the vaults was anticipated, no radical changes were made to the layout of the former structure plan. The hall with an elegant staircase and the original communication system in the palace side wings with a middle corridor were all preserved, including the east wing from the courtyard side[27]. A new staircase was also introduced in the northwest corner. Functional considerations, however, forced correction of the existing interior division.

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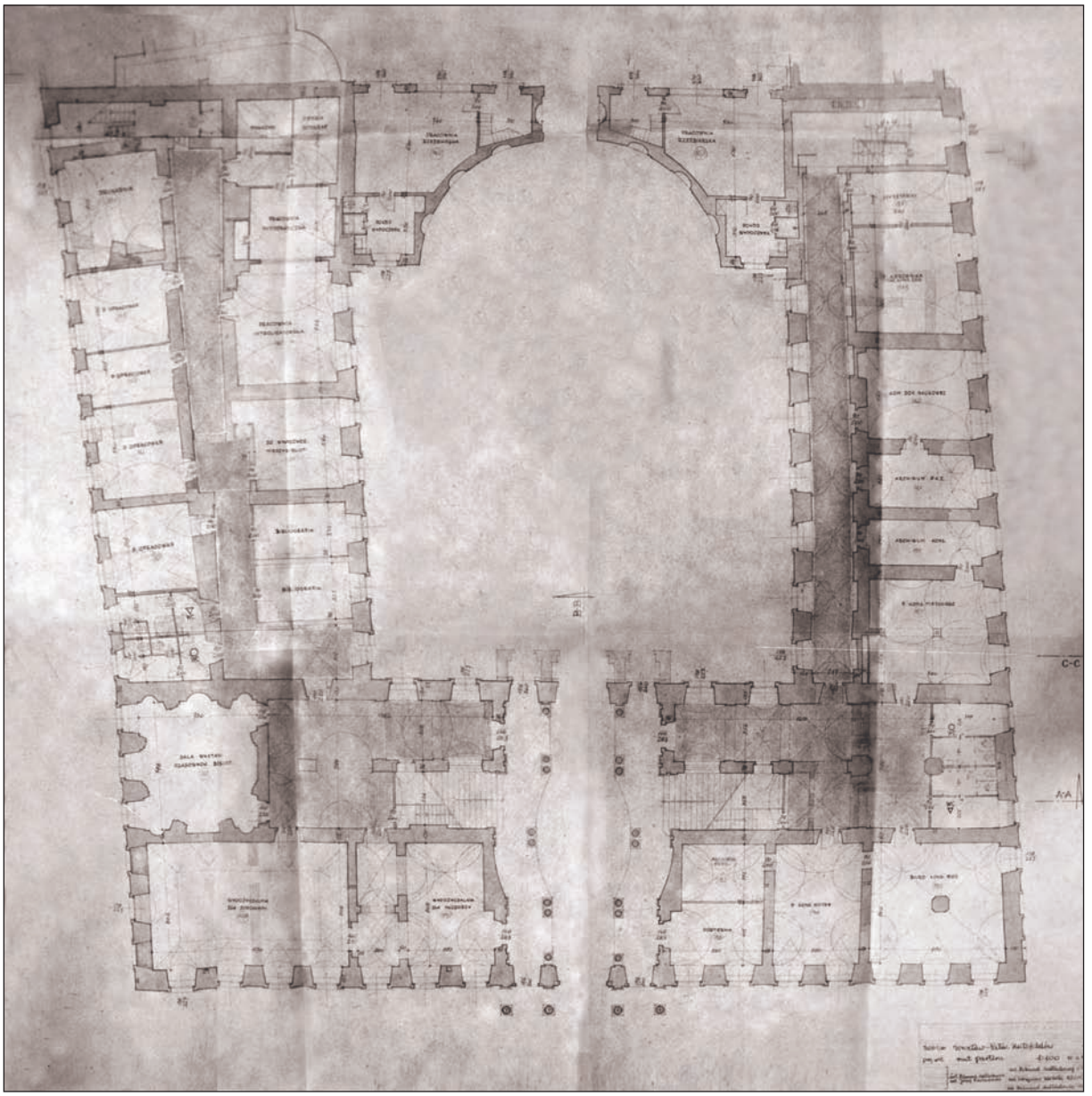
23 Minutes of the MKUA meeting of 28 September 1956, p. 4, in: [176].

24 Technical description, in: [175, p. 2].

25 Edmund Małachowicz published iconographic materials in his book [92], i.e.: an engraving of H. Mützel from 1826 – p. 50 and a view of the interior of a non-existent ballroom on the first floor from the beginning of the 19th century – p. 42.

26 According to the date on the title page of the design [176].

27 After analyzing the design drawings, it can be concluded that in the inventory description made by PKZ concerning the palace wings, it was erroneously stated that The corridor is located along the eastern wing. In the west wing from the north [there is; ed. E.G.] a staircase built along the entire height of the building. Technical description, in: [175, p. 1]. In reality, the west wing had a corridor in the middle, and the staircase was located in the east wing from the northern side.



21. Hatzfeld palace – ground plan design [176]

Efforts were made to emphasize the elegant nature of the rooms located in the front part of the building – exhibition halls and a lending library were proposed. The room located in the south-east corner was enlarged thanks to the demolition of the adjacent room wall located from the side of Wita Stwosza Street. Over the newly created space, Edmund Małachowicz designed a mirror vault with lunettes by the windows. The arrangement of holes and window recesses was changed. One window was added from the front (in a repetitive, preserved rhythm), while from Krowia Street side, the existing window–blend–

window layout was replaced with a blend–window–blend one. In the south-west corner, there were two rooms with a square-like plan, both with a central pillar.

One was left by design – as a consequence of bricking up one of the entrances, which connected it into a suite with the hall on the eastern side. The second one-pillar room became connected to the hall by demolishing one partition wall. In this way, the effect of greater spaciousness was obtained, appropriate to emphasize the elegant character of the ground floor of the building.

From the courtyard side, the part of the vestibule that originally extended beyond the façade was abandoned. A new staircase was located in the north-east corner. The non-existent northern part of the palace was designed with the use of surviving foundations, thanks to which the walls from the courtyard side maintained their semicircular shape. This section would contain two sculpture workshops.

The internal division of the upper floors was virtually non-existent, which made it possible to shape the space more freely without compromising the authentic historical substance. The west wing was intended for library rooms, among others, there was a book magazine there. The eastern wing was intended for Ossolineum workshops. Elegant rooms were located on the ground floor, from the front. Attempts were made to maintain their historical height by designing a landing in the building's lobby. Reading rooms and magazines were proposed on the west side and administration rooms on the east. Two suggestions for the solution of successive floors of the main and eastern wing of the palace were presented. In the first one, it was planned to locate office rooms and a conference room in the front part, while in the east wing, in the place of the former ballroom – a two-story hall. In the second proposal, the difference was that from the front instead of the conference room office rooms were designed[28]. The fourth floor in the front part was to contain mainly office rooms. The vertical communication system was changed – the staircases were moved to the external walls from the street sides – symmetrically to the main axis of the palace.

It also became necessary to add two sanitary facilities on each floor, one in the west wing and the other in the east. The attic was to contain service flats for the administrator, janitor, and smoker. It was proposed to restore the historical façade of the palace – with slight correction of the original location of window blinds and windows. Both the exterior and the courtyard have a uniform style. Façades, according to the original design, were enlivened with profiled stonework frames and cornices differing on each floor. The roof was designed in its original form as a gable roof covered with tiles. The documentation was forwarded for agreement to the Technical Council and the City Planning and Architecture Commission. It proposed minor amendments to the design covering the layout of attic flats and toilets in the east wing. Every second front-side dormer was removed, and from the courtyard, in the western part of the palace, a continuous cornice was introduced in the window lintels. A version of the first-floor solution with a conference room on the balcony axis of the front elevation was also chosen[29]. The opinion emphasized a very good and conscientious preparation of the initial design in terms of conservation and architecture.

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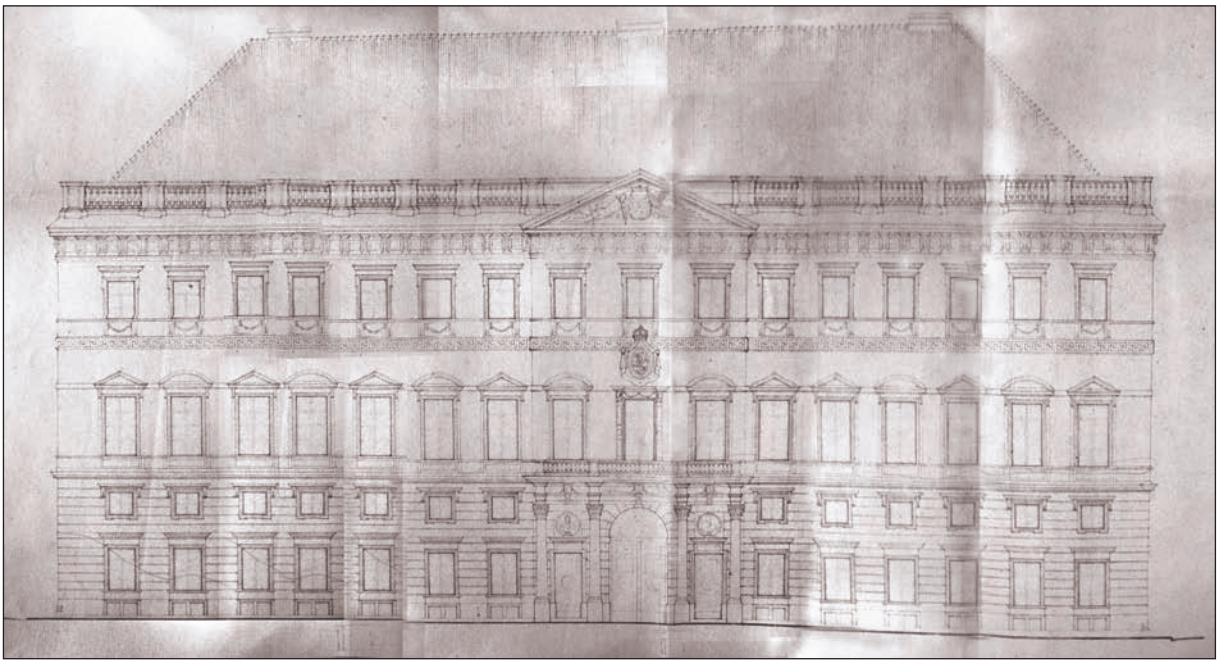
28 Originally there were elegant rooms of large space and height at this level in both wings of the palace, decorated with ornate stucco decor.

29 The commission recognized that the artistic value of monumental staircases, a large hall, a conference room on the balcony axis of the main façade would enable the preservation of the former



22. Hatzfeld Palace – front elevation design [176]

The design strives to eliminate the primary, suite room layout and introduce secondary interior divisions. The old layout could not be maintained for functional reasons, which had to be fulfilled by the adapted historical building; hence the room on the eastern side of the hall, where the concierge and the archive were located, was divided into two smaller rooms.

After obtaining a positive opinion of the Technical Council, the reconstruction of the Hatzfeld palace became the subject of the MKUA meeting. In addition to the attention of one of the Council members – Marcin Bukowski, regarding the conversion of the roof truss from carpentry to steel, the main topic of the meeting was the problem of financing the reconstruction of the building, as none of the planned users had the appropriate financing for reconstruction[30]. Given the large cubature and cost of the investment, doubts arose as to the desirability of rebuilding the object[31]. Ultimately, the reconstruction design was not submitted

interior spatial arrangement on the first floor of the palace; Minutes of the meeting of the Technical Council in Warsaw on 26 April 1956 [176].

30 The users of historical buildings were financing the costs of reconstruction and maintenance, only after Resolution № 102 of the Council of Ministers of 21 March 1957, regarding the location of investments in historical properties, a 22.5% subsidy for enterprises that would locate their operations there was promised. Therefore, placement of the Young Spectator's Theater, part of the PKZ, and two sculpture workshops in the building were also considered, Minutes of the MKUA meeting of 28 September 1956, [in:] NID, sign. 50/4.

31 Mentions of the desire to demolish the Hatzfeld Palace (to increase the throughput of Wita Stwosza Street) were included in the design of the new buildings of Nowy Targ square by Anna and Jerzy Tarnawski. It was noted, however, that the conservation authorities would try to keep the remains of the palace and therefore one should take into account the need to change the solution proposed here T. Wróbel, Supplemental report on developing the University area and the Nowy Targ area in Wrocław for the Provincial Conservation Commission, Wrocław 28 De-

for implementation. For years, no action had been taken to change this decision – it was only possible in 1966, thanks to which the surviving building remains were saved. Edmund Małachowicz became the author of the design again, which is described later in this work.

1.4 Church of Saint Clare, 16 biskupa Nankiera Square (1957–1958) – reconstruction of the eastern gable (phase one)

The first Gothic church at the Poor Clares monastery dated from the end of the 13th century. It was a brick, two-nave building (main nave and chapel of St Hedwig), three-span, with a steep gable roof, closed from the east with a straight gable wall with the so-called cat's cornice. In the years 1693–1699, the church, along with the entire monastery, was rebuilt according to the design of J.G. Knoll. The building was converted into baroque style, raised and covered with a barrel vault. During this redevelopment, the eastern façade of the church, as hardly visible from the outside, received only a cursory treatment. Only the gable was built upon, holes for two elliptical windows were made, gothic windows were bricked up, and everything was covered with a thin layer of plaster. In 1811, the monastery and church were handed over to the Ursuline Order. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the complex underwent ongoing renovations, which mainly consisted of painting the interior and repairs without changing its architecture. After the fire in 1907, part of the church roof was rebuilt [188, p. 4]. During World War II, the tower's top, part of the roof, gable, and significant part of the eastern wall, all the vaults of the northern and southern naves and equipment were destroyed. The destruction of the church was estimated at 65% [58, pp. 50–57].

Basic security works consisting of supplementing the truss and roofing, removing rubble from the interior, and securing works of art were already carried out in 1946.

It was not until 1957 that Edmund Małachowicz, together with Józef Rachwalski, began working on a design to rebuild the damaged eastern gable of the church. After completing the inventory of the existing state, it was found that

cember 1957 in, [206]. This opinion was maintained by the Ministry of Culture and Arts (dated 17 April 1958 in PWRN Faculty of Culture ????? ... op cit). There is a theory that the palace was not rebuilt because of its Prussian magnate origin. Considering that other palaces (e.g. of Prussian kings – Spaetgen palace) have been rebuilt and that the budget for the reconstruction of Wrocław was relatively small, the reason should be seen in the lack of sufficient funds in relation to the number of valuable monuments in the city. Arguments brought by supporters of the reconstruction of the palace that a descendant of the Hatzfeld family helped the Polish king in a battle, while the palace architect was a native Silesian and his name was Jan Długi (Langhans – sic!), were aimed to draw the attention of the authorities to the importance of the monument. It was easier to refer to an ideology that demanded the buildings that showed that Wrocław was Polish be rescued in the first place than to appeal to save cultural values. It was a deliberate attempt to save valuable historic buildings in Lower Silesia, whose devastation often resulted more from ignorance than from political beliefs [231].

almost nothing from the Baroque reconstruction period had survived in the outside surviving part of the gable wall. The gable wall and load-bearing walls perpendicular to it were Gothic in almost their whole section. Only a thick layer of plaster with planking and pilasters added from the inside, as well as a trace of a pierced elliptical window, were considered Baroque elements. The gable wall was made of brick with average dimensions of 28.5 × 19 × 9 cm, laid in the Wendish bond, and connected „convexly". One of the two buttresses (in the center of the wall), covered with stone slabs, survived. The northern buttress was completely destroyed. Two Gothic windows survived in the eastern wall. Some of the other Gothic windows survived. The window in the southern nave was bricked up to the thickness of one brick, but it still had a brick clerestory with a straight profile with a phase and iron divisions. The window in the northern nave was bricked up over the entire thickness of the wall. It had a damaged vault and was devoid of tracery. In the section of the north wall, in the built-up Baroque part, a fragment of the cat cornice crowning the former gable was preserved, while in the interior of the adjacent staircase, on the first floor, a fragment of the wall where the slanted part of said gothic gable started was preserved as well. In the built-up central wall, there also were stone fragments (probably Gothic) reused as building material [188, p. 5].

The authors of the design analyzed the available iconographic material: a pre-Baroque-reconstruction view of the eastern façade of the Ursuline church, a post-Baroque-reconstruction view and a Schleuen's engraving fragment (prepared based on a drawing by Werner from the 18th century), the eastern façade according to a model of unknown origin depicting monastery buildings, a view according to an engraving from the beginning of the 20th century, photographs of roofs and the gable profile from the west after the fire in 1907, and a photo from before destruction in 1945[32]. Photographs and engravings from the beginning of the 20th century were considered the most useful for further work on the reconstruction. On this basis, it was decided to recreate the silhouette of the Baroque gable[33].

Due to the relatively well-preserved fragments of the Gothic wall, it was decided that it should be reconstructed and exposed. It was planned to clean the face of the gothic wall, erect a gable, which was to be faced with demolition

Gothic brick (of the same dimensions and bond), and top in the form of a cat's cornice. Gothic wall buttresses were also reconstructed. The remaining baroque part of the gable, necessary to close the roof, was walled up – its silhouette was faithfully preserved, however, divisions and profiling were skipped due to the lack of appropriate iconographic materials. Two Gothic windows were intended for reconstruction. Two variants of their exposure were considered: in

32 According to the photographs in: [188, pp. 10–15].

33 The drawing of Werner from the 18th century presented the gothic gable in a rather general way (the church was already rebuilt at that time). The model of the monastery presented the façade in a form different from the other source materials – "which was rather the wish of the creator of the model who wanted to make it similar to the nearby gable of the northern wing of the monastery rather than its actual appearance" [188, p. 6]. The drawing of Schlener from the 18th century conflicted with the drawing of Werner. The authors of the design also stated that several views from the 19th century had survived (e.g., Loeillet's lithograph from 1860 is in the monastery), but the way they were drawn was not accurate enough and did not allow credible reconstruction of the gable.

23. St Clare's Church (1957) – eastern gable reconstruction design; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

24. St Clare's Church (2014) – east wall; photo: E.G.

the form of glazed elements or window blinds[34]. Elliptical baroque windows were walled up because they were in the place of the former cornice crowning the gothic part of the gable wall, which would spoil the architectural effect. For the sake of better exposure of the reconstructed gable wall, it was decided to demolish the staircase belonging to the monastery of the pre-demonstrators – it was treated as an element that did not represent historical value and was functionally superfluous. Construction works were completed in 1958.

1.5 Former Selder Palace, 45 Kazimierza Wielkiego Street (1957–1962) – design of reconstruction and adaptation to the House of the Doctors

The development history of the plot, where the palace currently stands, dates back to the Middle Ages when the area remained outside the boundary of the first moat. In 1708 a fire destroyed the buildings standing there. Shortly after, the plot became the property of the Austrian von Selder family, who decided to build their residence there. It is estimated that around 1730, a baroque building was built using the relics of destroyed gothic houses [14, p. 212].

34 A version with reconstructed glazing was implemented.

25. Selder Palace (ca. 1926) – currently the House of the Doctors [137]

The architecture of the palace had Baroque-Classicist features. The main building and outbuildings constituted a fairly uniform urban layout until the end of the 18th century. All buildings were three-story, one-bay, with a basement. The palace ground floor – lunette barrel-vaulted, with a through-hall in the middle and two rooms on the sides connected to the staircase and a side outbuilding. Staircase – four-flight with a pillar in the middle and the flights laid on segmental vaults. On the first and second floor, from the courtyard side, there were wooden galleries covered with eaves and used as communication in one-bay outbuildings[35]. The roof had a cornice beam with a profile cut out in it[36].

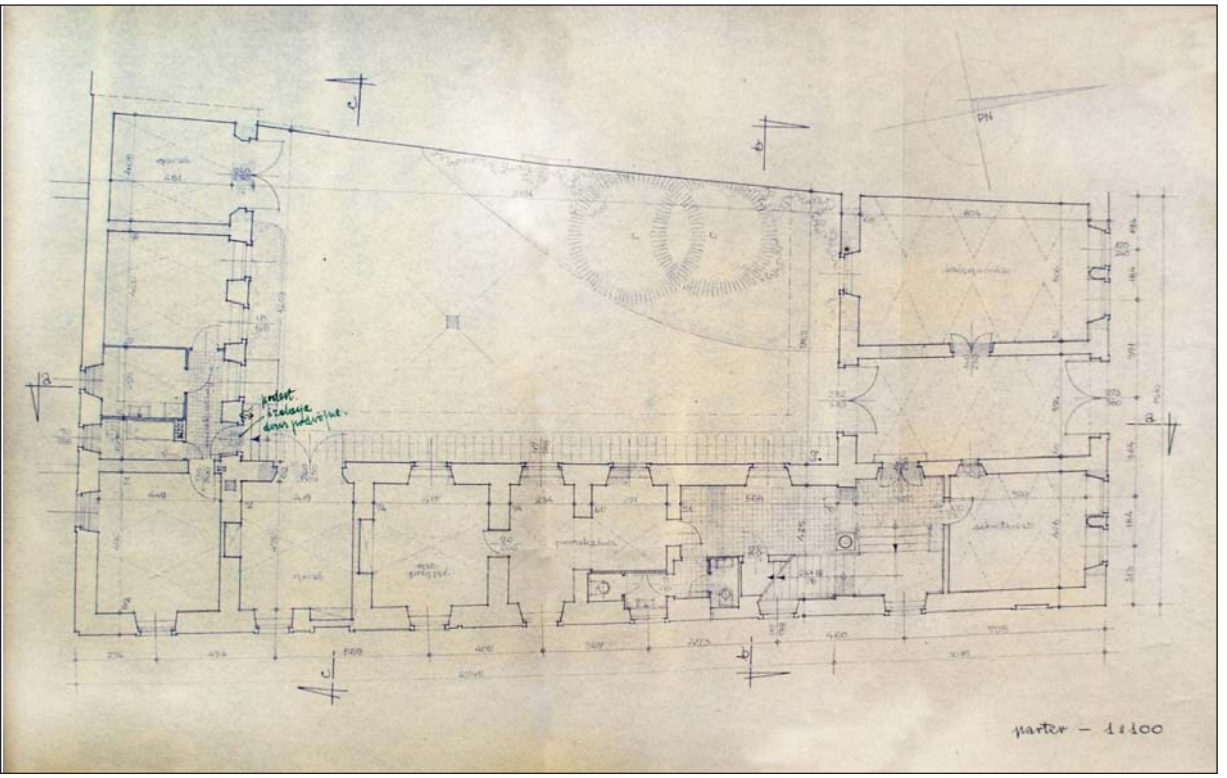
The palace façade facing Kazimierza Street was a five-axis one, plastered, divided by large-order composite pilasters, doubled on both sides of the symmetry axis and at the edges of the building. Windows – enclosed in stone ear bands. In the central part of the ground floor, there was a stone portal of the entrance gate. The elevation facing św. Doroty Street was a simpler, eight-axis one, with net articulation made of under- and inter-window mirrors with horizontal stripes made in plaster. Eared architraves also surrounded the windows. The gable wall of the building visible from this side was crowned with a crow stepped gable. The shape of the body and the façade showed the impact of solutions then widely used in Vienna, and transferred to Wrocław by representatives of the Austrian noble and aristocratic families settling there, such as the von Selder family [14, p. 71].

In the 19th century, the palace was adapted to the headquarters of Wolff and Kretschmer company – large windows were added on the ground floor, and one internal outbuilding was added around the small courtyard.

The palace and outbuildings were partially destroyed as a result of warfare in 1945. After the war, some of the rooms of the outbuilding from św. Doroty Street served as a warehouse. The first efforts to rebuild the complex were taken in 1957 – Edmund Małachowicz became the designer. First of all, he made an inventory of the palace with the layout of the outbuildings. The historical value was assigned to the main building with a staircase added from the courtyard, a side outbuilding from św. Doroty Street and the outbuilding at the back of the plot. The volume of buildings included in the complex was estimated at over 5,500 m3 [199, p. 2]. The courtyard and interior of the building were partly filled with rubble and litter. Brick walls and most vaults survived (except for the semi-demolished rear outbuilding). On the first and second floors of the main building, partitions made of plaster blocks and cinder boards also survived. The damage left the wooden ceilings exposed (probably from the 17th century, later covered by a headliner and plaster) with ceiling beams and planks chamfered and painted. The ceilings on the first floor were largely undamaged, but on the second floor, they had already rotted in twelve years. The stairs were, to a large extent, destroyed – the first flight and steps were missing, only the segmental vaults supporting the former staircase survived. The valuable wooden truss with a spreader structure and large cross-sections of structural elements was damaged by atmospheric influence and devastation. Roof covering with carp tiles and the so-called finger tiles (with a pointed tip) was preserved only on fragments of the slope. The destroyed gable walls of the building were tipped with

35 The galleries were supported on modestly profiled wooden beams and had a wooden railing [179].

36 Based on: [179, s. 2].



26. Selder Palace with side outbuildings – ground floor plan design [179]

the so-called crow stepped gable. Almost all the stonework and classicist woodwork of the entrance gate survived. The degree to which individual buildings were destroyed varied, ranging from 50–80%[37].

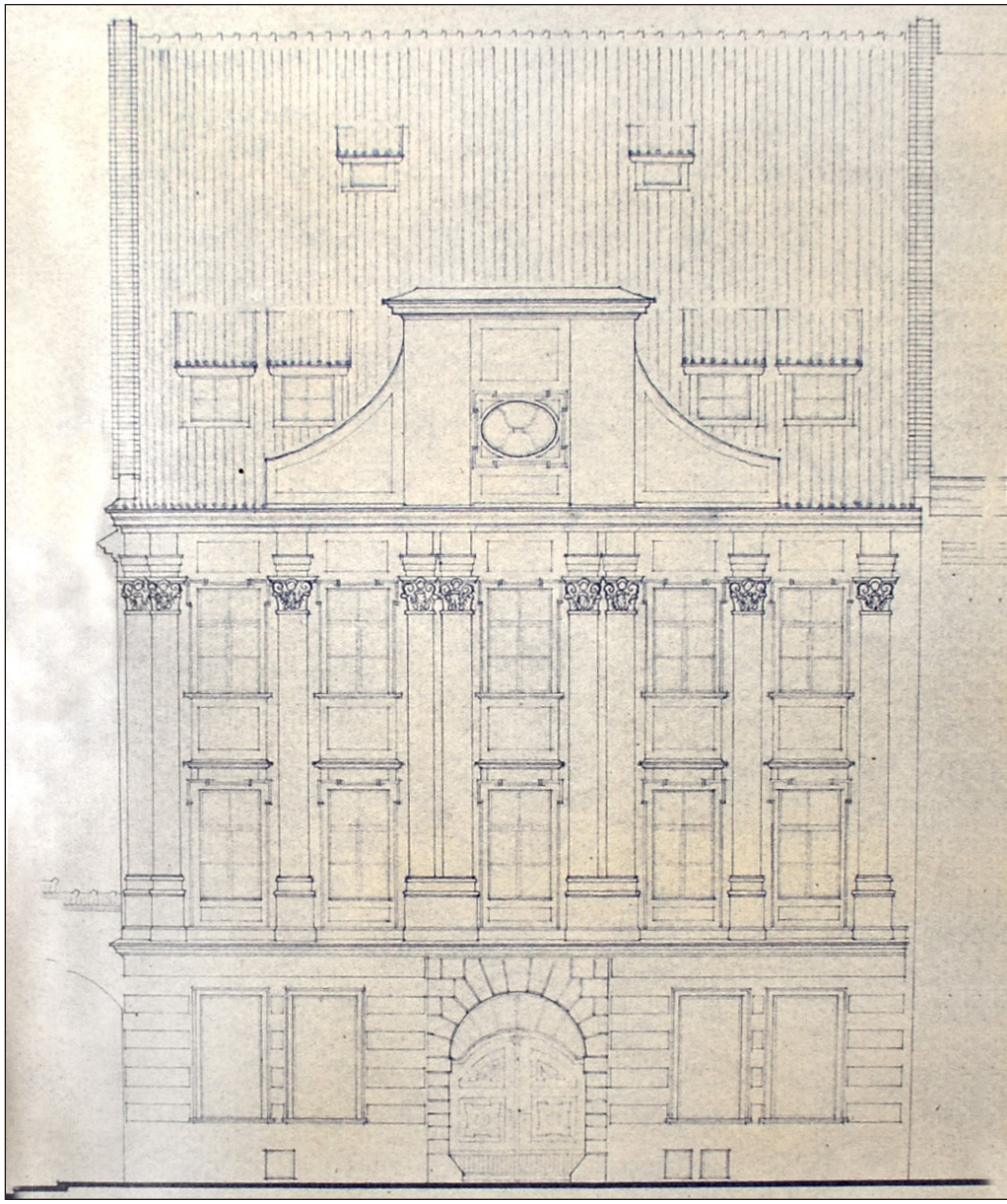
A decision was made to reconstruct the main building with the staircase and part of the side outbuilding from św. Doroty Street (with length equal to the length of the staircase). It was decided to keep the remaining part of the side outbuilding only on the ground floor level. The rear and 19th-century outbuildings were intended for total demolition due to their degree of destruction and sanitary requirements. It was also decided to reconstruct the wooden galleries from the courtyard side.

The reconstruction was carried out in two stages. Renovation of the roof and historical roof truss, as well as basic security works, became a priority, and only then it was time to rebuild and adapt the outbuildings, as well as the interiors of the main building. Preparatory and protective works included clearing the courtyard and interiors, demolishing two outbuildings and removing rotten ceilings.

In July 1958, Edmund Małachowicz made a design for roof truss renovation with new roofing. The existing roof structure was to be dismantled and reassembled after sorting, cleaning, and impregnation with fungicides. The damaged parts were to be replaced with demolition wood of similar dimensions and new wood with a smaller cross-section. The reduced dimensions were given to the rafters outside the main trusses. The roof of the front gable was to be entirely

37 An average value of 65% was adopted, based on [199, p. 3].

27. Design of the front of the Selder Palace [179]



made of new wood. Roof windows were designed based on iconography and as informed by the structure of preserved windows. Part of the „finger" tile was removed and deposited. It was planned to use it for future conservation works. The new roofing was to be made of flat tile laid in fish scale pattern, including the implementation of sheet metal plating and gutters made of galvanized and copper-plated sheet metal. It was also necessary to relay and supplement bricks in the gable wall and the wall crest.

Simultaneously with the ongoing construction works, Edmund Małachowicz prepared a design for reconstruction and adaptation of the entire complex. He

28. Selder Palace, currently the seat of the Lower Silesian Medical Chamber (2014); photo: E.G.

finished work in October 1958. The functional arrangement was agreed with the future occupier of the facility – the Association of Lower Silesian Doctors. Only part of the basement was allocated to warehouses and technical rooms (the rest was buried). A room for steam injectors and heating network service pipe was located from the side of św. Doroty Street[38]. The ground floor of the building was to be occupied by a secretary's office with a waiting room and a bookstore, both accessible from the main hall. A caretaker's flat and two garages were designed

38 In the steam injector, the hot water from the heating network mixed with the one coming back from the radiators and then returned to the central heating installation in the building.

in the one-story outbuilding. The first floor was intended for a meeting room for 120 people and a cafe for about 30 people. There were also coffee shop facilities, a cloakroom, and the necessary sanitation room. On the second floor, there were three clubrooms in a suite arrangement, a press room, and three double guest rooms (two of which had a bathroom), and common sanitation facilities. In the attic, there were another five single and double guest rooms with shared bathrooms.

Only the surviving ground floor was kept in the rear wing. The internal outbuilding with the destroyed staircase was demolished. The new staircase was to be located inside the building, from the side of św. Doroty Street. The rear outbuilding located opposite the main building was lowered to one floor – the courtyard was closed that way. Only the first-floor gallery (with a contemporary iron railing) and the eaves of the roof were planned for reconstruction. The second-floor gallery was considered to be functionally unnecessary, and its original existence was marked only by a strip on the façade. The architecture of the external façades was reconstructed. At the front of the main building, the store windows were removed, and windows with simple sandstone enclosures were inserted in their place. Fragments of stone window frames and doors recovered from demolition were embedded in internal façades. The rest of the window frames had a modest profile and were made of plaster. The opening of the inner gate was closed with an iron grating. The ground floor vaults under the former staircase have been preserved in their entirety. Just like the entrance to the rear basement, above which a crane block was exposed. No significant changes in the layout and decor of the façade from św. Doroty Street were expected, except for bricking up one window. However, a blende was left so as not to disturb the façade's axiality. Roof dormers were added for utility reasons.

Some of the structural and finishing elements were made from scratch in the complex. New concrete foundations, partition walls made of cavity brick and siporex, and Klein ceilings were designed, except for the second floor of the outbuilding, where a wooden construction was chosen. Wooden cantilever beams supported the galleries. The staircase was designed in reinforced concrete technology. Lime plasters were supposed to be used as the finish for interior walls, while glazed tile dado – for sanitation facilities, and coloured terrazzo – for utility rooms and on the staircase. The floors were made of oak staves, or sandstone slabs in the case of the ground floor hallway, and of marble blocks in the hall staircase. Stair, gallery, and French window railings were planned as wrought iron. The yard was planned to house concrete paving and pavements made of concrete slabs, as well as lawns. The building was equipped with all modern technical installations. The reconstruction was carried out in 1960–1962 and was transferred to the Association of Lower Silesian Doctors[39].

39 Currently under the management of the Lower Silesian Medical Chamber. In the years 2007–2013, the building underwent a major renovation and extension according to the design of A. Kwaśniewski, B. Mazur, A. Iwański, [152, pp. 19–21].

1.6 Former Royal Palace, southern wing, 7 Wolności Square (1957–1960) – unrealized design of reconstruction and adaptation for the Archaeological Museum

Most researchers date the creation of the Baroque palace to 1719, although there is a hypothesis that Baron Heinrich Gottfried von Spaetgen bought the finished building from Baron Ludolph Joseph von Pein. That would move the construction date to 1715 or 1710. The design is attributed to the Austrian architect Lucas von Hildebrandt, but the authorship of Fischer von Erlach was also considered. The building that was erected deep inside the plot was initially two-story, seven-axial, with a ridge arrangement [14, pp. 73–76]. Spaetgen's Palace became the royal residence of Frederick II in 1750. Over the next 150 years, this small residence was repeatedly rebuilt and expanded. As a result, the palace was transformed into a three-story, nine-axis, two-bay structure, with a passage hall. The plinth level was covered with rustication in plaster; above it, there were two floors fastened with pilasters in great order [5, p. 101]. In the years 1751–1753, the palace was expanded according to the design of Johann Boumann the Elder. In 1796, the courtyard was rebuilt from today's Kazimierza Wielkiego street based on the design of Carl Ferdinand Langhans – single-story side wings were introduced in the form of Doric-Tuscan colonnades with gable roofs. A part of the building by Oławka river was also demolished, which created a foreground in front of the palace facing today's Wolności square. The secularization of the Capuchin monastery made it possible to create a modest garden at the back. Further extensions – by Friedrich August Stüler, took place in 1843–1846. In 1858, Stüler also added two side wings from the side of today's Kazimierza Wielkiego street. In 1925, the palace was handed over to the city authorities, who allocated a museum function inside a year later [14][40]. During World War II (1942), evacuation of the collection began. In 1945 the building was destroyed.

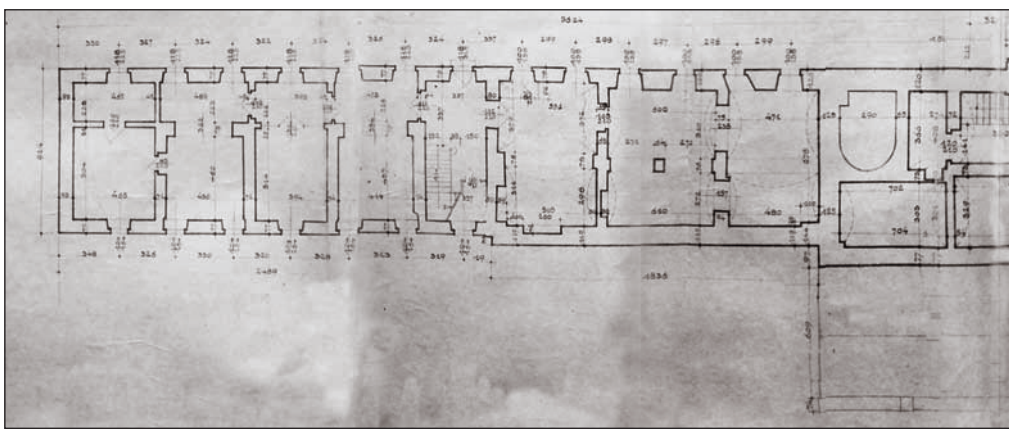
The Wrocław branch of PP PKZ prepared the palace reconstruction design on behalf of the School Investment Board. The building, after reconstruction and adaptation, was to be part of a complex of buildings of the Castle Museum intended for the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum. Edmund Małachowicz oversaw work on the entire facility as the studio manager at the time[41]. He was also a co-author (with Mirosław Przyłęcki) of the part of the building and catwalk located at Wolności square.

Based on the inventory drawings from 1957, it can be concluded that the wing from Wolności Square consisted of a fourteen-axis main body with a four-ax-

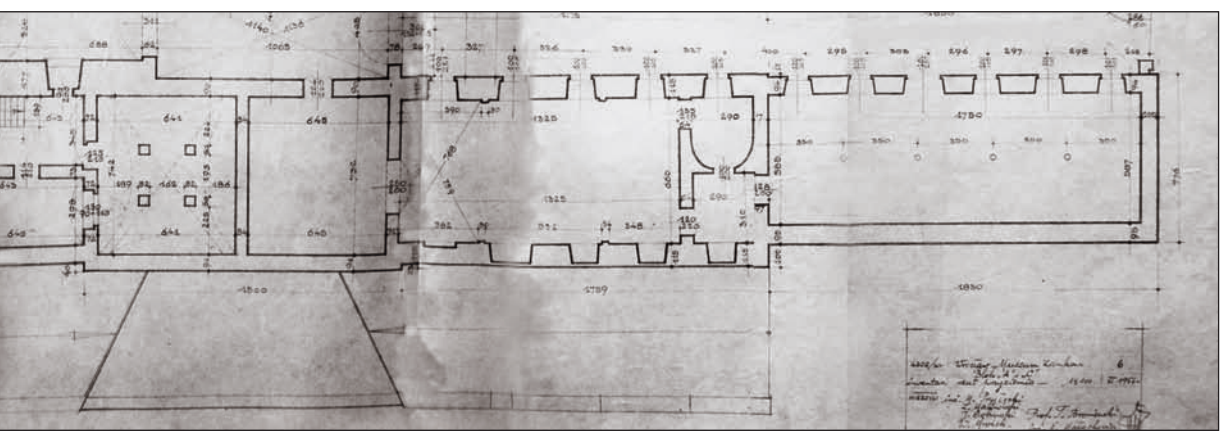
40 In 1938, this function was also performed by the side wings occupied so far by the army.

41 For design purposes, the wings of the building were marked with numbers from A to E (A and C were from Wolności Square, B, D and E from Kazimierza Wielkiego Street). The preliminary design of wings A and C (catwalk) was prepared by E. Małachowicz and M. Przyłęcki. The reconstruction of the remaining wings was developed by: M. Czyżewska – B, M. Czyżewska and J. Rachwalski – D, H. Śmigła – E.

29. Royal Palace [University Library, Graphic Collection Department, ref. INW-Fot-598--11761-0001]



is projection in the middle. The two-story building was covered by a flat roof topped with a balustrade. On the sides, there were two two-storey galleries covered with a small pitched roof. The first – (western) led to the three-story pavilion of the former kitchen, the second – (eastern) had an open vantage point over Świdnicka Street. Perimeter walls and foundations, some of the internal walls, and the basement brick vaults were preserved. Some of the stonework also survived. The roof of the building and the façade were partially damaged. Almost all

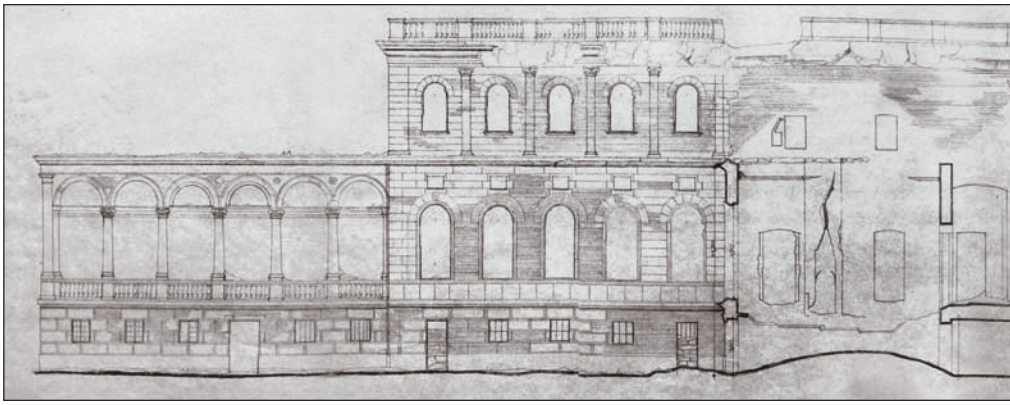


ceilings and roof truss disappeared. The only wooden, paneled ceiling survived in the western pavilion.

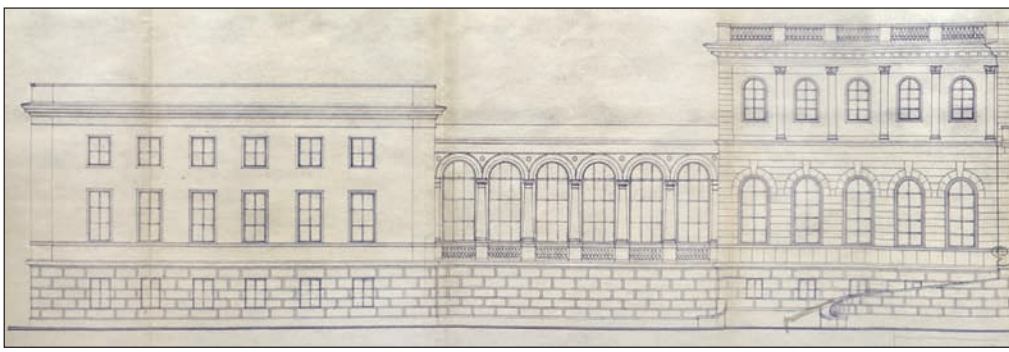
The design envisaged the preservation of the former arrangement of external walls. However, significant changes were introduced to the building shape. The pavilion was expanded from Wolności Square, by connecting it through a gallery to the central part with the addition of another row of rooms. A second, twin pavilion closed the eastern gallery. A symmetrical façade was obtained from

30. Royal Palace (1956) – ground floor plan, Frederick Wing (blocks A and C) [165]

31. Royal Palace (1956) – northern elevation (block A), Friedrich's wing, inventory [169]



32. Royal Palace – southern façade (block A), preliminary design [170]

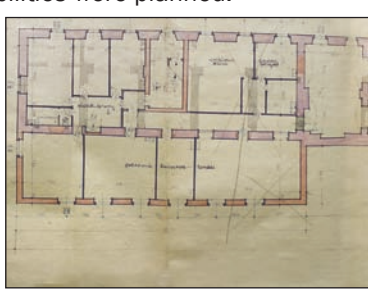


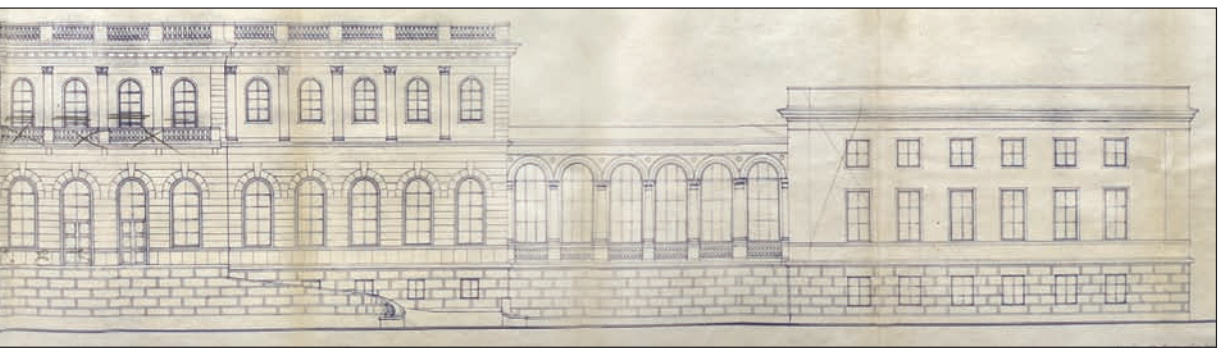
Wolności Square. The central projection and galleries were to be rebuilt in their historical shape. The newly designed pavilion and the added part of the façade of the existing pavilion received simplified forms though referring to the original. Damaged stonework elements were designated for repair and replacement, e.g., crown cornice.

The wing from Wolności Square, along with the catwalk, was planned to host the ethnographic section. The basements were to contain technical rooms - the engine room for the freight and passenger lift and steam injector. In the basement, there was a bathroom, warehouses, garage, and reception desk.

From the side of Wolności Square, on the axis of the building, on the level of the high ground floor, there was a representative entrance leading to the hall with cloakroom and exhibition rooms. The staircase was located at the intersection of the wing and the catwalk, and next to the sanitation facilities. On the first floor, exhibition rooms, a reading room, and sanitation facilities were planned.

The existing arrangement of brick construction walls was preserved. Newly designed walls were planned to be made of brick masonry as well. Instead of damaged wooden ceilings, new ones were to be built in Ackerman technology, while reinforced concrete slabs would be used in the newly designed parts. The remaining ceiling in the western pavilion was intended for renovation. The staircases were made of reinforced concrete, and the roof structure was to remain wooden. It was also

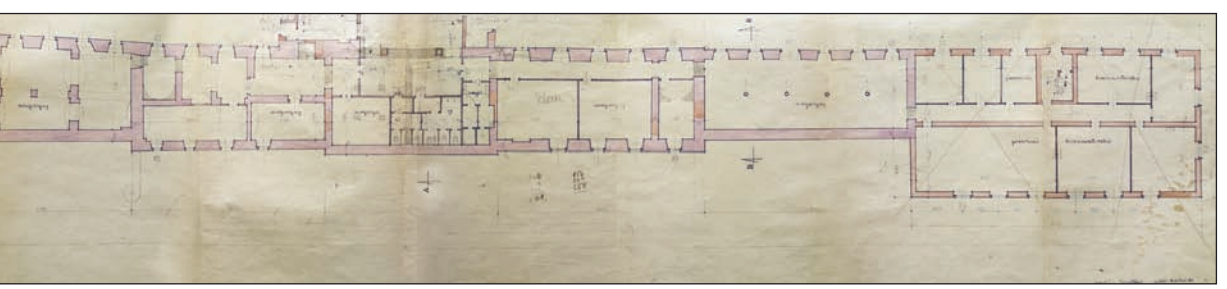




planned to introduce waterproofing using bituminous roofing paper, and a layer of aerated concrete and tar paper was added in the parts of the low ground floor where there was no basement. The thermal insulation in Ackerman ceilings was slag, and in the case of slab ceilings - chipboard (suprema). Roof insulation was provided in the form of pressed reed mats. The floor in the elegant rooms of the high ground floor and the first floor was to be made of marble, in the exhibition rooms – of a hardwood stave, and on the lower ground floor and in the sanitation facilities – of lastrico[42].

33. Royal Palace – ground floor plan, preliminary design [170]

42 The standard of the building rebuilt is evidenced by the use of glazed tiles on the walls of sanitation facilities (instead of painting with oil paint) and stone floors.



34. Royal Palace – remains of the southern wing (2019); photo by M. Szłapka

It was decided not to recreate the interior design. The rooms were to be finished with cement-lime and lime plaster with straight profiles. A simple railing made of iron bars was planned for staircases.

The finish of the façade was supposed to be made of rustication made in plaster and modeled on the existing one. Enclosures and window sills on the ground floor openings from the side of Wolności Square were planned to be made of sandstone; the rest was made of plaster and modeled on existing profiles. The door and window woodwork were designed as made of oil-painted wood. The roof covering over the pavilions was to be galvanized sheet, while the roof of the main body was planned to be covered with glued roofing paper. It was also planned to reconstruct the baluster railing crowning the building with the use of preserved fragments. Missing elements were planned to be supplemented with new forms made of concrete modeled on authentic ones. The building was to be equipped with modern plumbing, electrical, and heating installations and connected to the municipal heating network[43].

The years 1957–1960 saw the gradual reconstruction of the wings facing Kazimierza Wielkiego Street. The wing from Wolności Square entered the technical design stage in 1960 – at a time when Edmund Małachowicz was no longer working at PP PKZ. (Jerzy Zachodni became the new designer of the investment, and Jerzy Dąbrowski was the head of the studio)[44]. The fundamental assumptions of the design were never implemented. Only the western gallery and the pavilion were left standing. The rest was pulled down in the second half of the 1960s. The preserved part of the building housed the construction office of the National Forum of Music in the years 2009–2014. Currently, the remains of the former Frederic Wing have been adapted to Henryk Tomaszewski Museum of the Theater.

43 Based on the designs: [166, fig. 18; 167, p. 11, fig. 10].

44 By: [168, p. 11, fig. 12].

1.7 St Clare Mills, Słodowa Island and Bielarska Island (1957) – unrealized reconstruction design (phase one)

St Clare Mills were the oldest buildings in the entire complex of former Wrocław mills. The earliest references to these buildings come from the 13th century. Initially, they were in private hands; later, they became the prince's property. Mill II on Bielarska Island belonged to the Poor Clares monastery since 1262[45]. The mill I on Słodowa Island was handed over to them in 1330, before that it was the property of the Franciscan monastery of St Jacob. The original architectural form of both buildings is not well known. Accurate iconographic images have not been preserved, and no previous research has been conducted. It is only known that they were one-story halls, single- or double-bay, with wooden frame or post-and-plank structure, later half-timbered [96, p. 73]. A wooden footbridge connected them. Numerous mentions of the mills from the 14th–17th centuries concern trade issues and milling. In later centuries, both buildings were rebuilt and enlarged many times, and the wooden structure was replaced with stone due to its flammability. In 1791, the whole mill complex burnt down – eight years later, they were rebuilt in Baroque-Classicist forms under the direction of architect Brunnert. Both mills were raised by one floor in relation to their form from before the fire, and the gables were crowned with tympana. The buildings were covered with gable roofs. In the eastern façade of the Mill on Bielarska Island, a figure of St Clare was placed in a niche. In the Mill on Wyspa Słodowa, also placed in a niche, there was a tablet with a coat of arms and a Latin inscription proclaiming: "The building, founded by Henry III, was rebuilt by Jadwiga the superior of [the monastery of; ed. E.G.] St Clare"[46].

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (especially after the fires in 1908 and 1913), the mills underwent numerous modifications, the most important of which was the addition of side gables and a mansard roof at the mill on Wyspa Słodowa. The internal structure: pillars, ceilings, roof truss, working platforms were wooden. The outer ladders, platforms, and wheels were partly metal. Just before the outbreak of World War II, the city authorities wanted to allocate the mills to a youth hostel. The then city conservator Rudolf Stein did not approve of this initiative. The mills remained in good technical condition until 1945 when they were damaged during the defense of Festung Breslau.

After the war, the destruction of the mills was estimated at 40%[47]. In 1957, the preparation of inventory documentation for both buildings was underway.

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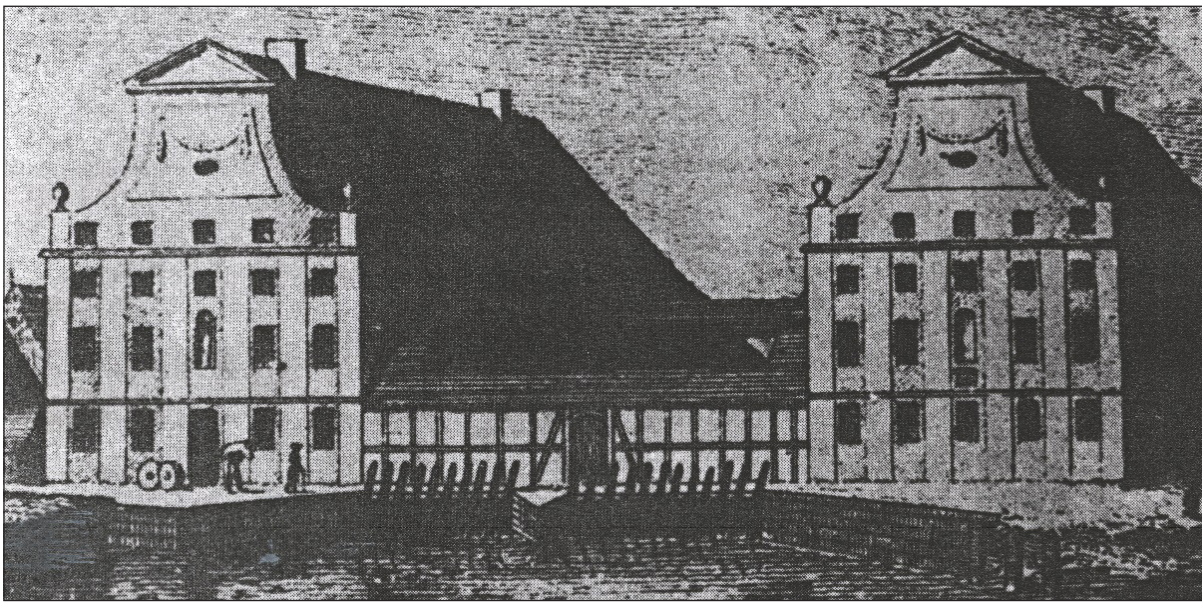
45 The islands, apart from the mills, were deprived of grand buildings, they were mainly used for economic purposes.

46 The text was in Latin: oVAS HENRICV III FVNDAVIT HEDWIGIS ABBATISSA S. CLARAE RESTAVRAVIT AEDES. The date of reconstruction is coded in the inscription: 3 × D (1500) + 2 × C (200) + 1 × L(50) + 8 × 5(40) + 9 × 1(9) = 1799 [96, s. 181].

47 They were classified as partially destroyed (according to war damage assessment), based on materials of the Wroclaw Directorate for Reconstruction, developed by B. Czerner and E. Małachowicz [96, p. 210–211], and the state of damage given [96, p. 209]. For example – the state of damage in the cathedral of John the Baptist together with the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary



35. View of St Clare Mills from before the 19th-century reconstruction; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

The Central Board of Museums and Monument Protection became the investor. The design was commissioned to the studio of the Wrocław branch of PP PKZ managed by Edmund Małachowicz. The team consisting of: J. Rachwalski, St Wojdon, D. Świątek performed measurement works along with photographic documentation. On this basis, drawings were made showing the condition of the mills[48].

The Młyński Bridge provided pedestrian and wheeled communication services for both buildings. In the inventory drawings [191] two buildings with an elongated rectangular plan and a simple hall layout are visible. Both mills were very similar both in terms of dimensions and façade layouts, which referred to the bourgeois architecture of residential houses. Both buildings were made of brick, plastered inside and outside. The ceilings and truss of the buildings were wooden. Façade details, such as door and window bands, were made of stone, while pilaster work of plaster. In the niche of the eastern façade of Mill I, there still was a sculpture depicting St Clare. In the eastern façade of Mill II there already was an embedded foundational tablet. Mill II had two identical side gables.

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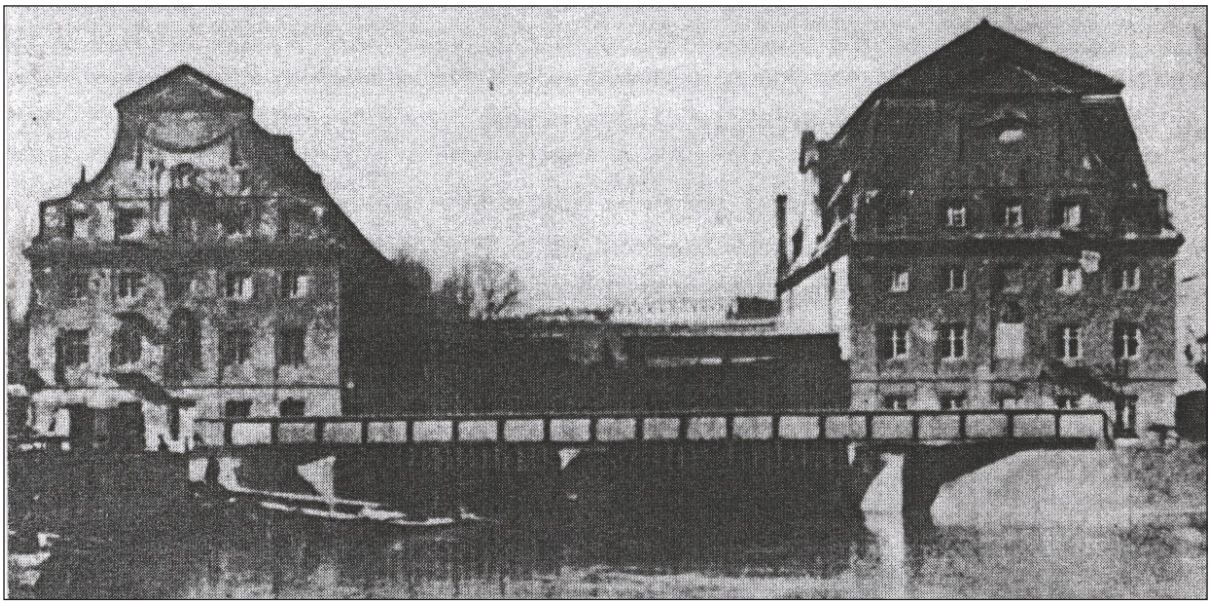
with the Augustinian monastery was estimated at 75%, and the episcopal palace at Ostrów Tumski at 70%. Edmund Małachowicz notes, however, that the adopted criterion mainly referred to the assessment of the percentage of damage in relation to the value of the building, which was mainly determined by the condition of the roofs and ceilings. From a conservation point of view, the most important factor would be the percentage of the preservation of the authentic architectural detail and interior vaults.

48 In his book about the Wrocław cathedral, M. Bukowski also published a post-war photograph of St Clare Mills, where the condition of the buildings was visible, e.g. Mill II still had a roof truss. Cf.: [17, p. 229]. The inventory drawings made in 1957 show it no longer existed. It can therefore be assumed that it was dismantled, for example for fuel, which was frequently commented in the daily press of that time [21, p. 3].



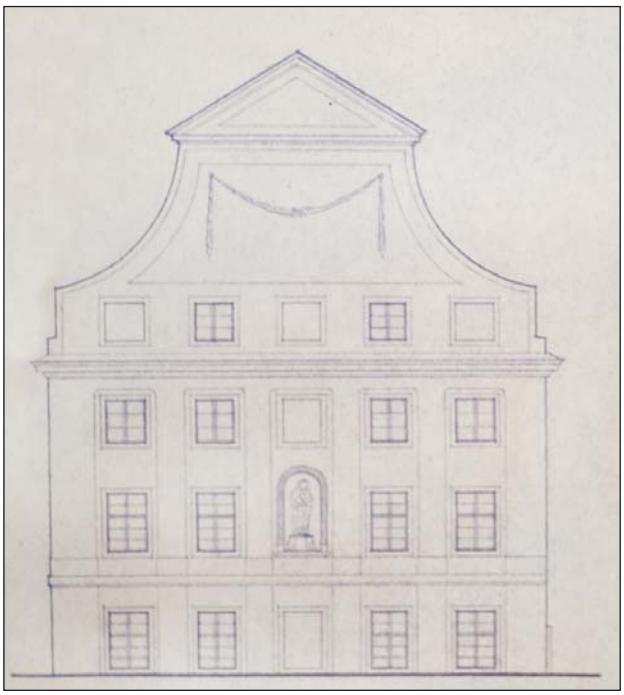
36. St Clare Mills (beginning of 20th c.); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

Most of the external and internal walls were intact. The gables of the eastern walls of both mills and partly the northern façade of Mill I were destroyed. Parts of the preserved wooden ceiling beams were visible in the cross-sections. Roofing and truss were damaged. Numerous bullet marks were found in the façades. Cracks in external walls are also visible in photos and drawings. Plasters were preserved in residual quantities. Mill equipment made of wooden beams, cast iron, and steel, as well as fragments of drive wheels in Mill I, were all in the water. The total lack of weather protection weakened the walls of both buildings. The interiors were partly filled with debris and overgrown, and the adjacent area – disordered.

The inventory, as well as remnants of preserved details and iconography, were used by PP PKZ to develop the first preliminary design for the reconstruction of St Clare Mills[49], which was completed on 14 August 1957, by the studio headed by Edmund Małachowicz. The façade reconstruction in historical forms was adopted, while the interior was to be adapted to the needs of a future user, unknown at this stage of design.

The condition of the buildings just before destruction was decided as the specific historical form that would inspire the reconstruction. In Mill II, the side peaks and steep mansard roof documented by iconography were reconstructed. In the façade by the waterside, where there were propulsion devices, in addition to opening formerly bricked up windows, recesses were left marking the previously bricked openings associated with former devices. It was not decided to reconstruct internal platforms and former mechanical devices in the Młynówka canal.

49 The description for the preliminary design of the reconstruction of St Clare Mills from 1957 mentions that it was based on preserved iconography, but no specific sources are given [191, p. 1].



Due to the lack of a specific user, the design assumed the reconstruction of the building in a raw state, i.e., structure walls, façade, roof and supporting structure, columns with ceilings. Following the pattern of the old layout, a row of columns was designed to divide the interior into two naves. At this stage, no vertical communication system was designed due to the unknown purpose of the building. In terms of structural and material solutions, brick walls on existing stone foundations, reinforced concrete pillars, Klein ceilings, and a wooden roof truss were adopted. The roofing was to be made of flat tile laid in the so-called fish scale pattern with flashings made of galvanized copper sheet.

Probably due to the lack of a user interested in rebuilding the mills, the project did not go beyond the initial study phase. Over the next decade, buildings were exposed to further devastation by both atmospheric factors and human activity.

37. St Clare Mills (1957) – design of eastern elevations; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

1.8 Former Bernardine monastery, 5 Bernardyńska Street (1956–1960) – reconstruction and adaptation design for the Museum of Architecture (phase one)

The history of the creation of the monastery complex desacralized after World War II dates back to the 15th century and is associated with the arrival of the Bernardine order to the city under the leadership of Jan Kapistran [98, pp. 6–29]. In the years 1453–1455, the first wooden church (replaced in the years 1463–1502 by a stone structure) and monastery buildings were erected in the New Town area. An urban complex was created, which in its basic shape, has survived to this day. The church was built in the style of a Gothic, oriented, three-nave basilica, with a star-shaped vault, a six-span nave, and a three-span presbytery. The aisles were also six-span but covered with cross vaults. The monastery building was laid out similarly to other medieval monasteries – as a two-story quadrangle with a garth in the middle, covered with a gable roof, with cross vaults in the galleries. The southern wing housed utility rooms (kitchen, refectory, hall, abbot's living quarter); the eastern wing was allocated to the capitular library and chapel. The other two contained monks' cells. In 1517, a second courtyard was created, enclosed by an extended church chapel and a wall from Bernardyńska Street. The south-west wing and the two currently non-existing buildings, in which the monks arranged a hospital, were built at the latest[50]. In 1522, the Bernardines left the monastery as a result of a conflict with the City Council. The buildings were adapted into a hospital with some of the rooms divided into smaller ones (mainly in the east wing). The refectory and kitchen functions were left. The church was handed over to the Protestants, which resulted in another reconstruction of the interior. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the complex underwent further transformations. The most important changes concerning the church include the construction of the belfry (1603), demolition of the rood screen separating the monastic chancel from the nave (1619), reconstruction of roofs and vaults after the fire (1628, 1634), baroque remodeling of the interior and western façade[51]. The monastery also had its roofs rebuilt after the first fire (1628). In 1728, auxiliary rooms (half-timbered structure) were added to the kitchen, and in 1782 a new southwest wing intended for the school. During the Napoleonic Wars, the military stationed in the church, which led to widespread damage and destruction, repaired after the end of the occupation. In the first half of the 19th century, a restoration of the interior of the church was carried out, mainly of the sacristy (1815), while also the rainbow beam with the cross was removed (1831), the passage between the vestibule and the southern nave was pierced, and minor maintenance work was carried out (e.g., painting carpentry).

50 It was a venereal disease hospital.

51 Baroque elements in the church: altar (designed by A. von Saebisch), pulpit (1673), organ (1709; execution – A. Horatio Casparini), collator's lodge (1713), by M. Ławicka M. Gola A., *Leksykon*..., p. 196.

In the 1850s and 1860s, the temple was rebuilt in the Gothic revival style according to Lutz's design – stucco work in the chancel and new window traceries were made[52].

The monastery also underwent numerous reconstructions. In the place of the former hospital, in the years 1827–1882, a classicistic hospital building was built (adjacent to the south-west wing). The east wing was demolished, and a new four-storey one was built in a neo-Gothic form according to the design of Carl Johann Christian Zimmermann. The façade was made of clinker brick (1871–1872). The school building was also enlarged, and the kitchen was demolished [98, p. 27]. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, F. Henry conducted an eclectic restoration of the church – he combined historical forms with Art Nouveau (1899–1901)[53]. In 1907, the western cloister was renovated. The demolition of the wall separating the wing from the north was an important change – it was replaced with a glass one. In 1928 a lapidarium was established in the west wing[54]. The 1930s brought another restoration of the church, purist in character[55].

The monastery's quadrangle had ridge roofs on three sides, and a double-gable roof in the northern wing. A vaulted cloister ran around the garth, which extended in the northern part adjacent to the church to the vestibule and the so-called small sacristy with a soaring rib vault[56]. Two small rooms in the vicinity of the tower hosted a staircase and a porch leading to the southern nave of the church. From the one-column vestibule towards the exit to the west courtyard, the path led through a narrow vaulted hall connected to the cloister of the west wing. On the first floor of the northern part of the monastery, there was the former library connected to a small sacristy located in the two-bay east wing. In addition to the chapel mentioned above, there was a narrow staircase. The west wing of the monastery was single-track, two-story. On the first floor above the cloister, there was a corridor. The southern wing of the monastery was the largest in length. It consisted of a narrow, nine-span section of the cloister starting from the east with an exit gate that connected to the east wing. As a result of the reconstruction in the 17th century, the southwestern part of the wing was divid-

52 Cf .: Ławicka M., Gola A., Leksykon..., p. 198.

53 The roofs of the aisles were lowered, new plasters were laid. On the western façade, in the gables of the aisles, brick cornices have been replaced with modern stone ones. They were decorated with one rustication at the bottom, a volute at the top, while the window was enlarged, both vases were replaced, the portal recess was raised and decorated with an ogival ornament, the top of both pinnacles and a finial were added, the whole surrounded with a new cordon cornice, the portal was moved from the north façade, and an identical one was made and placed at the end of both aisles – in this way a triple entrance was created, modeled on Western European cathedrals. The windows were replaced (except for the chapel), the lower walled windows removed in the chancel, and the stonework changed. Stairs to the matroneum were added from the north. A late Gothic portal was inserted in the southern façade, its origin difficult to identify because the selection of bricks in terms of colour and texture was adapted to the old patinated brick. A brick and stone vestibule with neo-Gothic forms was built on the west side. New painting decorations by August Oetken from Berlin were added. Based on [98, p. 25].

54 It belonged to the Museum of Arts and Crafts. It was separated by a grille (designed by J. Vonka) from the hospital rooms [98, p. 29].

55 The baroque altar and stained glass windows from the 19th century have been removed. Cf.: Ławicka M., Gola A., *Leksykon...*, pp. 196–197.

56 The so-called large sacristy was directly connected to the chancel.

38. Bernardine monastery (1925–1945) – east wing [236, access: 20.11.2014]

39. The church of St Bernard, in the background the Bernardine monastery – view from Bernardyńska Street (postcard 1936) [236, access: November 20, 2014]

ed on the north-south axis by two vestibules leading to the western courtyard. On one side there was a room with an elevated floor, covered with a lunette vault, and on the other – a similarly shaped room, but divided across with a partition wall, and a small hall. The monastery was adjoined the church from the north[57].

The church was not classified as an object of outstanding value, because it was believed that its entirety did not go beyond the conservative tendencies of the 15th and 16th-century architecture – the whole complex together with the monastery, however, is one of the few preserved examples of this type of buildings in Silesia[58]. It had a basilica-like, three-nave arrangement without a transept, with a six-span body and a tower. The aisles were closed straight on the rainbow line. The three-span chancel with the width equal to the nave was closed in a three-sided manner. In the aisles, there were rib vaults reinforced from the south with buttresses. Lierne vaults covered the nave and chancel. From the south to the first west span of the church, there was a three-span, two-span chapel (St Mary the Virgin and Jan Kapistran), closed from the south with three sides, covered with a rib vault. The west façade had three ogival fault portals leading to the nave and aisles. Its culmination was a baroque single-story gable on a high pedestal, surrounded by two pairs of pilasters and covered with a tympanum. The aisles were topped with baroque rafting.

The roof of the nave and chancel was gabled, while the roofs of the aisles were mono-pitched and connected to the nave below small, pointed windows. The gables of the St Mary's and Jan Kapistran chapels were smooth, crowned with a stepped crow stepped gable. The tall ogival windows of the aisles were half-walled (a trace of the matroneums in the aisles). The nave was surrounded by narrow escarpments that widened in the section under the roofs of the aisles. The wall of the nave was reinforced in each span with a pair of massive, blind, ogival arcades passing into lesenes adjoined to the nave pillars from the side of the aisles. The whole church was surrounded by a plinth, and a flagellant and crown cornice. In the southern wall of the southern aisle, a gothic rectangular stone portal was inserted, decorated with bar tracery. At the eastern wall of the northern aisle, there was a small square porch with a rectangular outside portal in a simple enclosure with panels.

During World War II, almost all the compact buildings of the so-called New Town and its monuments were destroyed, including the 70% of the complex of buildings of the former Bernardine monastery [98, p. 29]. In 1949 (under the direction of Aleksander Krzywobłocki) the most necessary salvage work was carried out, which included, among others covering the vaults of the nave with a permanent roof. Priority was then given to investments centered around Rynek and Solny Square, that's why the first serious actions aimed at the reconstruction and adaptation of the former monastery complex began only in 1956.

The then Conservator of the city of Wrocław – Olgierd Czerner was the initiator of the works. He commissioned the preparation of the necessary scientific and design documents to the Wrocław branch of PP PKZ. All works aimed at the reconstruction and adaptation of the monastery complex were carried out under the direction of Edmund Małachowicz. In situ research and iconographic studies

57 The description of the buildings was made based on [98, pp. 29–40].

58 Cf.: [160, pp. 5–11].

40. Bernardine monastery – view from Bernardyńska Street (1956) [160]

were carried out, which enabled a partial description of the appearance of the buildings in the monastery complex.

War damage in the church mainly included roofs, vaults, and stonework [160]. The old forms of clerestory windows were preserved in their original versions in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Jan Kapistran, and as copies from the 19th and 20th centuries in the chancel. What also survived were the capitals of servants, the remains of Gothic stonework in the form of a stone belt with slight traces of the former profile, two keystones in the chancel, and the 18th-century Baroque cornice of the nave. Stone portals survived as well: the late-Gothic main portal from the end of the 15th century (completed in 1900), the ogival north (walled up), and the south with a flat lintel, in the form of a transitional Gothic-Renaissance [98, pp. 33, 34]. In the course of the research, medieval fragments of polychrome and a floor were also discovered, whose construction was a system reminiscent of inverted ceramic pots[59].

The monastery was much more damaged than the church[60]. The ground floor walls and only part of the first floor walls survived – in a way that made it impossible to read the old interior division. The east wing closing the courtyard was destroyed, and its remains were demolished shortly after the war. Only the contour of the outer walls was visible. The corner of the southern wing from the church side also did not exist. Most of the ground floor vaults had been damaged or seriously damaged. Above the part adjacent to the church, the outer wall from the

59 The results of research work were included both in the doctoral dissertation of E. Małachowicz [75] and in [89, tab. 1].

60 View of the west wing (1956) [160].

41. Bernardine monastery – view of the west wing (1956) [160]

courtyard side survived up to the height of the second floor (double gable). The monastery building was completely devoid of roofs and woodwork. The window stonework survived only in fragments[61]. However, numerous keystones survived (mostly with a rose motif) and four portals: Gothic, late Gothic, simple Renaissance, and late Renaissance[62]. The built-up area in the outline of the surviving walls of the monastery building (counting without the church) was 1528.5 m^2, and the volume was 14 587 m^3. The dimensions of the bricks in the church and monastery walls were 10.5 × 14 × 27–29 cm [160, p. 11].

Urszula Czartoryska prepared the first conservation proposals for the reconstruction of the ensemble in 1956. The basic assumption was to restore the state of the church from before the 1899–1900 reconstruction, according to the preserved designs from that period. It was planned to eliminate the western internal porch, lengthen the windows of the aisles (cut by a section of the wall in the Protestant era). The missing vault keystones were to be recreated according to the Burgermeister list. Reconstruction of the dates on the façade of the church (1704) and the Renaissance portal (1596) was postulated as well. The interior was to remain unplastered.

The roof layout was considered to be the main asset of the monastery building, determining its picturesque character. The principle to follow when planning

61 These details are visible in the inventory drawings made by H. Babczyszyn, T. Broniewski, E. Małachowicz (window VII, fig. № 16) [160].

62 According to drawings by H. Babczyszyn, T. Broniewski, E. Małachowicz [160, Figures 11–14].

the interior was "to maintain the maximum clarity of the layout, complicated by remodeling (...). Therefore, it is proposed to draft a reconstruction design strictly based on archival material, assuming only the necessary deviation following the requirements of the new function of the former Bernardine monastery" [160, p. 15]. It was assumed that the north wing would be recreated faithfully (except for the staircase and toilet – the effect of reconstruction in the 19th century). The western part of the monastery was to serve a communication function (or possibly lapidary). In the southern wing, a refectory was proposed to be restored – however, freedom was left in the design of the remaining utility rooms. It was also planned to maintain the north-south communication axis. The most difficult issue was the rebuilding of the destroyed east wing because iconography was considered "to give insufficient clues"[63]. The eastern section of the cloister and the arrangement of rooms with windows facing east were intended for restoration. The reconstruction of the chapel was not considered since it was assumed from the beginning that the complex would not have a religious function.

Based on these guidelines, in 1957, a preliminary design of the monastery reconstruction was made by Edmund Małachowicz, and Ryszard Stachura (the church of St Bernard was not included in the scope of the study at that time). The documentation was to enable permanent protection of the building and staged reconstruction. The monastery did not have a specific user at that time; therefore, the design focused on the reconstruction of the external body. The goal was to preserve all surviving historical elements and reconstruct those that were necessary to retain the architectural character of the complex (e.g., the eastern cloister with the façade facing the garth). The external silhouette of all wings was reconstructed, except the eastern one, which was designed as a plastered, two-story roof with dormers, covered with a gable. Reconstruction of the silhouette of the roofs was based on iconographic materials, and the separate roof over the southern cloister was preserved.

The volume of the monastery[64] was estimated at 16 962 m3. The ground floor in the wing from Bernardyńska Street was planned to be allocated as a back-up for conservation works, while flats were to be built on the first floor and attic. Façades in parts of the preserved Gothic walls were intended to be cleaned and supplemented. Larger parts of the destroyed walls were to be made of cleaned demolition brick, in a modern bond (with gables ended with a roll). Reconstruction of the stonework of the cloister and sacristy windows was intended. It was planned to reconstruct all the vaults. The roof covering was to be made of the Roman or Roman tile. In the interiors, it was planned to reconstruct all the vaults

63 A list of iconographic materials known at the time, used in the formulation of conservation guidelines, was presented: axonometry of the city of Wrocław G. Braun, P. Hogenberg (1957) copperplate, Weiner's plan, M. Merian's axonometry (1649) copperplate, axonometry from 1702 copperplate, axonometry from 1781, copperplate, measurements from 1835, 1865, 1899, freehand drawings of the monastery from 1710, woodcut from the 19th century, drawing by Mützel from 1823 and 1853, reproduction of the 19th-century lithography, three Manfeld's prints from the second half of the nineteenth century, graphics before 1874 with keystones of the southern section of the cloister, graphics from the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a set of five boards from 1835 with plans, cross-sections of the monastery, with a situational plan, three maps of the planned reconstruction 1868, ground floor plan (undated), two schematic situational plans, probably from 1873 [160, pp. 16, 19].

64 By: [185, p. 3].

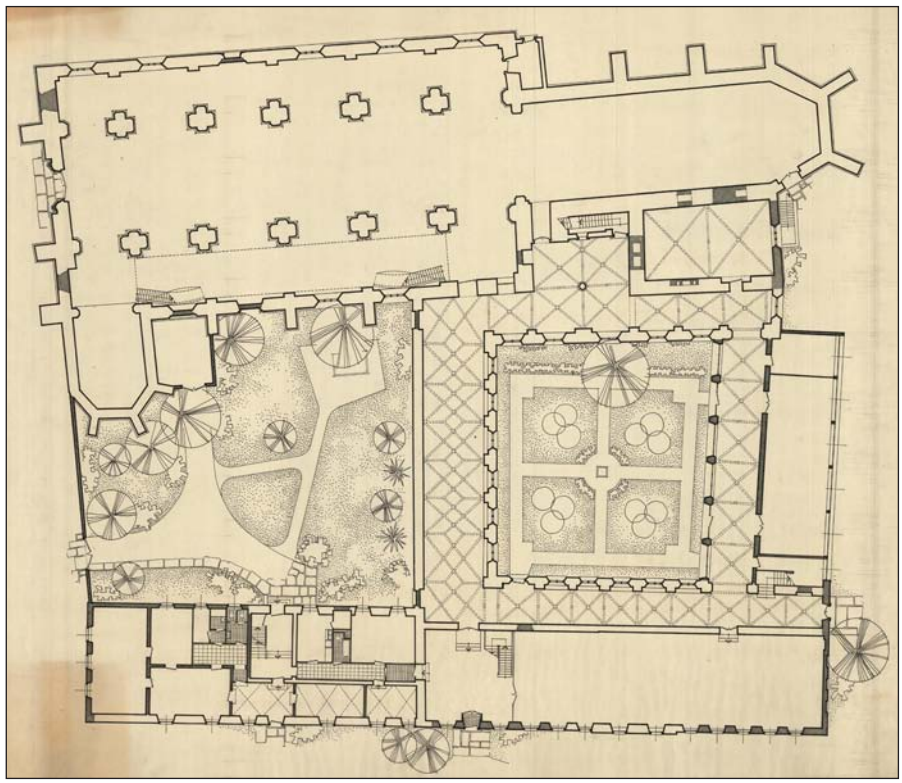
42.Bernardine monastery – east wing reconstruction design (1957) [185]

in the cloister with the one pillar room, the sacristy interior, and a fragment of the preserved vaults in the wing facing Bernardyńska Street. The vaulted fields and internal walls were designed as plastered. The floor was planned to be made of sandstone. It was planned to insert a historical (not yet defined) portal as an entrance gate into the wall closing the courtyard from Bernardyńska Street.

Preparatory work began in the same year. Although the church was not initially included in the design study, it became necessary to make the roof without delay to protect the building from the damaging effects of weather conditions. That is why in 1958, Edmund Małachowicz prepared the design for rebuilding the roof of the northern nave and filling cavities in the vaults. His design assumed the demolition of the weathered part of the walls and necessary rebricking works. Contemporary brick was to be used in places covered by the roof structure[65]. It is planned to make a new roof truss with three goiter-type windows, a new roof covering made of carp tiles and all necessary roofing and tin work (such as gutters or snow railings).

A separate issue was the choice of the function to be performed after the reconstruction of the monastery complex. The inspiration before the war was the lapidary in the west wing. It was decided to adapt the team to the first and only so far in Poland – the Museum of Architecture. Olgierd Czerner, the first director of the museum, recalls: "After the war, when the ruins were removed, many salvageable interesting architectural fragments were found (...), which, collected

65 The vaults were to be finished with a layer of cement-lime mortar.

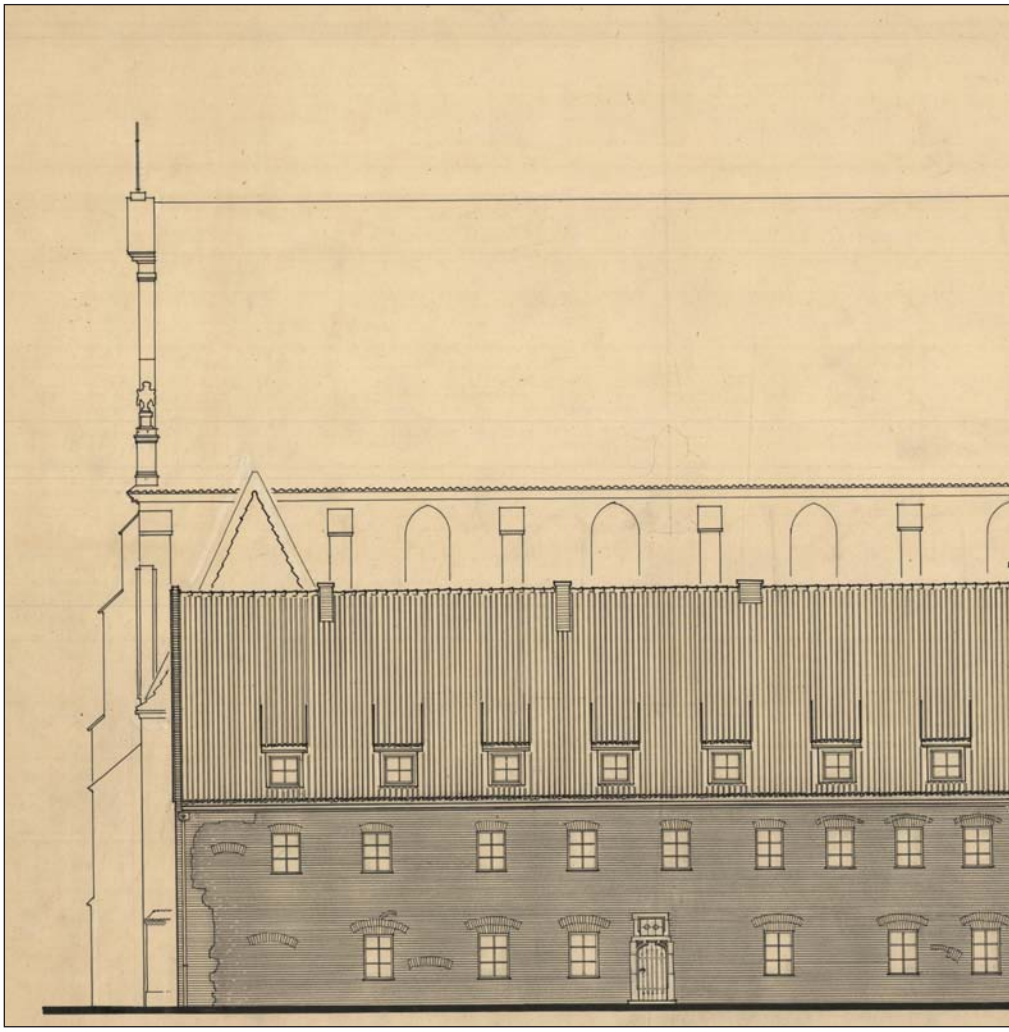


43. Designed plan of the former Bernardine monastery after adaptation for the Museum of Architecture; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

with other fragments, collected before 1945, and presenting valuable elements, formed the core of the collection [23, p. 170]. Edmund Małachowicz believed that, in this case, both the collection and the building's architecture would be the subject of the exhibition" [98, p. 43].

In the years 1958–1960, a design for the reconstruction and adaptation of the monastery complex was created. The investment was staged for the following years: south-west wing 1958–1960, south and west wing 1960, 1961, eastern cloister and northern wing 1961, 1962, the church chancel 1962, 1963. The reconstruction of the eastern wing was postponed because the form it was supposed to take did not result explicitly from the conservation analyzes carried out and became the subject of long-term arrangements[66]. A utility programme was adopted covering the museum part (926.5 m^2), PP PKZ workshops (852 m^2), the office of the Provincial Conservator (294.6 m^2), the Office of the Conservator of the city of Wrocław (166.9 m^2), the sacristy at the church with a boiler room (77.3 m^2) and a part intended for flats (843.5 m^2) [164, p. 4.] The main entrance to the Museum was designed in the southern wing. Exhibition halls were located on the ground floor – one in the former refectory (where the ceiling above the ground floor was not recreated, thanks to which it was possible to display larger exhibits), the other in the west wing, and the third in the east wing. On the first floor, office functions were planned – except for the south-west wing, which was

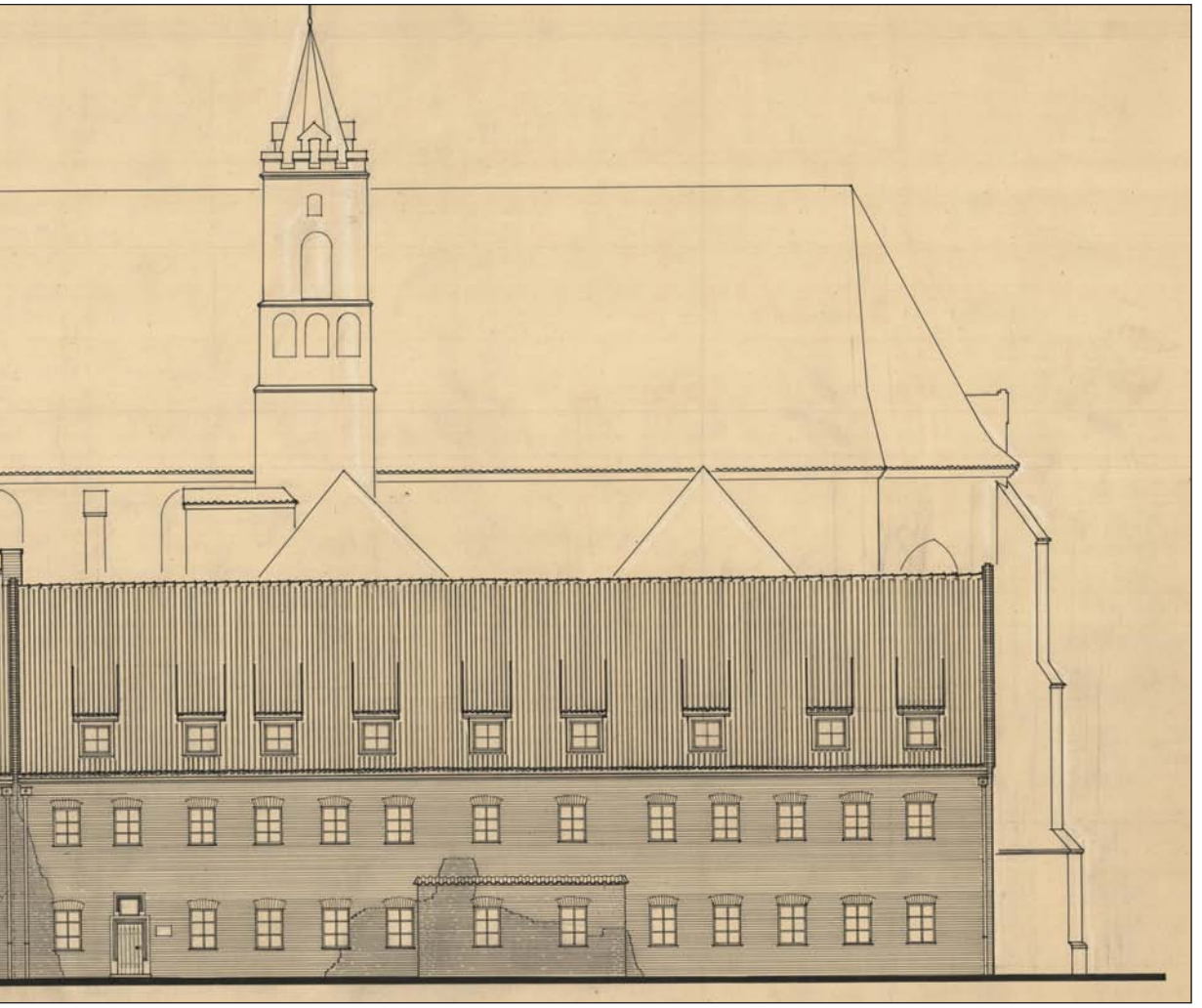
66 Technical Boards were the body responsible for approving the design, in this case, in cooperation with the Conservator of the city of Wrocław.



I designed a large room, because Olgierd Czerner and I wanted to do an exhibition of Romanesque architecture relics, but it was not possible to transfer it from the National Museum. Today this room is unnecessary. It has terrible acoustics and it would have to be divided by ceiling [225].

intended for living spaces. Workshops were located in the attic of the southern wing, and in the south-west and east wing, flats were designed.

There were no major changes to the body of the building in relation to the initial design assumptions, except for the introduction of more dormers and enlargement of window openings in the east wing. Construction and material solutions were also specified. It was planned to use existing foundations and technical infrastructure provisions. The new walls were to be made of demolition brick and faced from the outside with Gothic brick in the Polish bond. The so-called cat cornices on the gable walls were to be built of new brick. Klein and Ackerman reinforced concrete ceilings with wood-covered beams and reinforced concrete staircases were designed. In the cloister, windows with stone clerestory were proposed, and in the east wing with metalwork frames. It was planned to renovate the recovered stone portals. The flooring in the exhibition part was to be made of sandstone and terracotta slabs (in the cloister, of recovered historical ones). In the offices and flats, an oak stave was provided, in the sanitary



44. Bernardine monastery – southern façade; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

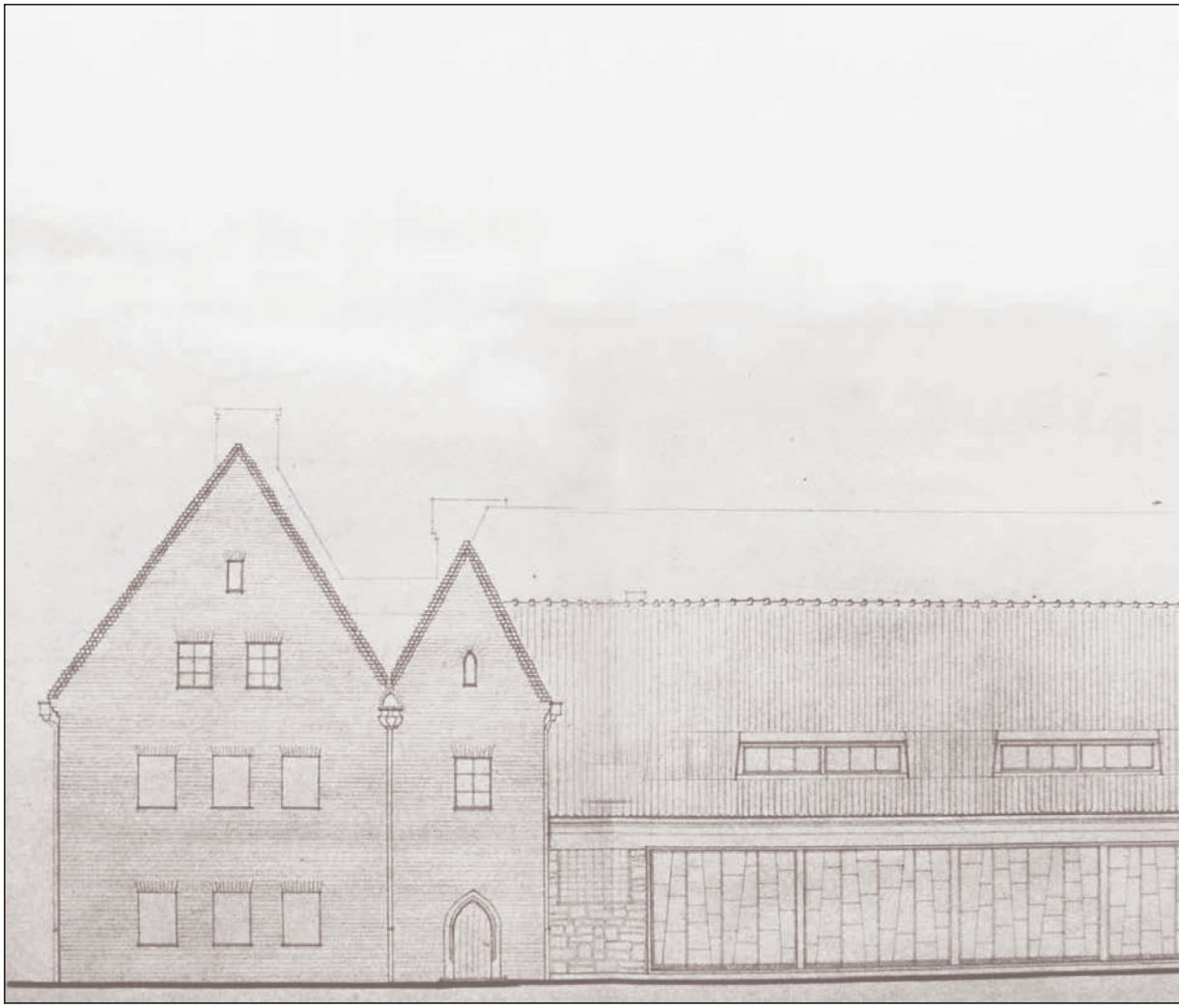
facilities, lastrico, while in the kitchen facilities-xylolith[67]. The detailed interior design of the museum was to be covered by a separate study.

In parallel with the design work, the project was being gradually implemented. Edmund Małachowicz constantly supervised its course, but from 1960 he was no longer an employee of the Wrocław branch of PP PKZ.

Summary

Edmund Małachowicz's years of working in the PP PKZ (1953–1960), coinciding with the great reconstruction of the country from the devastation of war, is one of the most active periods from the design standpoint in his conservation work. The appropriate „political climate" was conducive to the implementation of very com-

67 A mixture of sawdust and mineral binder.



45. A proposed alternative façade of the east wing of the former Bernardine monastery (1960) [184]

prehensive restorations not only of individual buildings but also of entire historical complexes. In the first place, construction of flats was carried out, including what was allowed by the adaptation of historical tenement houses, an example of which is Rynek 51. The most valuable monumental buildings were also reconstructed – in the process of adapting them to the needs of public administration bodies or the service function. The state-financed some works on sacred buildings (e.g., the reconstruction of the church of St Christopher or roof of the church of St Mary Magdalene). After 1956, as new investments, mainly housing, gradually began to be implemented using prefabricated construction – conservation activities at that time remained on the margins of Polish architectural creativity[68]. This problem also concerned the work of Edmund Małachowicz. Many of his

68 That year, the Polish People's Republic bought the technology of producing prefabricated building components from the USSR. The official end of socialist realism took place on 26 March 1956, during the National Council of Architects. The then Prime Minister of the People's Repub-

designs for the reconstruction of historic buildings were not implemented due to a lack of funds (e.g., the reconstruction of St Clare Mills, parts of the Castle Museum, and the Hatzfeld Palace). The architectural implementations in this period were also of modest scale due to the difficulties in accessing building materials, mainly bricks and roof tiles.

In the described design studies, the predominant conservation activities are those that aim at restoring historical façades, adapting interiors to functional requirements, and partly filling the gaps in the historical form. The basis for design work was laid by inventories, *in-situ* architecture studies, and literature and

lic of Poland – J. Cyrankiewicz gave a speech in which he criticized the methods of rebuilding the country. He stated that (...) "the architecture in the past has overwhelmed with showiness, false monumentalism, a multitude of decorations and ornaments (...), and that (...) socialism requires simplicity and modesty, harmonization of the façade with the interior, and the architects do not pay attention to economics" [22, p. 1; 67, pp. 315–320].

iconographic studies. In the works of Edmund Małachowicz, there is, first of all, the desire to rebuild historical façades (example of the Hatzfeld palace or tenements in the Market Square). The influences of the Athens Charter [4] are also visible (including the shallowing of buildings in the Market Square in order to better insulate and ventilate). In addition, the influence of C. Boito's conservation philosophy can be felt (even in the distinction of the brick bond in the new walls at the Museum of Architecture). Characteristic of the Professor's conservation work was also the removal of nineteenth-century alterations and conversions, in favor of displaying older relics and the conservation of preserved fragments of the buildings based on scientific material.

Edmund Małachowicz described the experience gained while working at PP PKZ regarding medieval architecture and polychrome of rebuilt churches in Wrocław in numerous scientific publications, e.g. [75, 89].

2 Design created in the Spatial Planning Studio of the Presidium of the National Council of Wrocław – development plan for the Wrocław islands

1960–1961

The basis for the adopted direction of post-war reconstruction of Wrocław was formed by the development plans for the areas of the Old Town and the Central City. Initially, they were developed by the Wrocław Plan Office operating in the years 1946–1949 at the regional Directorate of Spatial Planning. In 1955, as a result of an administrative reorganization, the Municipal Spatial Planning Studio was established at the Faculty of Construction, Spatial Planning, and Architecture, where Edmund Małachowicz had been working since 1960 for almost two years. The problem on which he decided to focus his attention was the way of developing the Wroclaw islands.

Until World War II, the area of the islands was relatively densely built-up and functionally diversified. There were residential as well as industrial, service, religious buildings, and even barracks. Most of the buildings had a wooden or half-timbered structure, which intensified the destruction in 1945 and resulted in part of them being demolished shortly after the war.

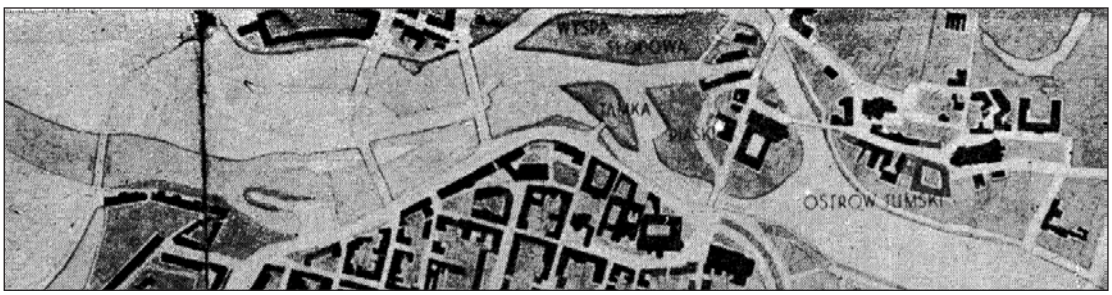
The efforts of the post-war reconstruction of Wrocław were concentrated in the area of the Market Square and Solny Square. The most important monuments of the islands (including the University Library) were planned for reconstruction; all other facilities were facing demolition because the islands also played an important role in the strategy of connecting the transit from the planned small and large downtown beltway[1]. Therefore, this area unique on a national scale was an extremely complex issue in terms of conservation. The design solutions had to combine the best possible display of the cultural and landscape values of the complex with modern communication and functional requirements.

For Edmund Małachowicz, the point of reference in the preparation of the new concept design were previous studies, conservation applications for the islands and Ostrów Tumski area spatial development plans created in the Wrocław branch of PKZ in 1954, as well as his own urban and architectural studies [42, p. 87][2].

1 An overview of individual post-war development plans for Wrocław can be found in the publications: [92, pp. 125–135; 96, pp. 247–265; 108, 118].

2 Despite the query of archival materials carried out by the author, the original study could not be reached. Edmund Małachowicz cites this study in his book [96, p. 247].

46. Fragment of the spatial development plan of Wrocław from 1949, developed by a team led by Emil Kaliski. The communication route connecting the small and large central city beltway was passed through the Sand Island. In order to preserve the historical character of the remaining buildings, traffic from the city center was divided into two directions served by Staromłyńska Street (at the back of the island) and Piaskowa Street. Both streets were to be connected through a newly designed roundabout at the Mill Bridge. There were no plans to restore the buildings on the islands of Słodowa and Bielarska (except for St Clare's Mills and the surviving residential building on Słodowa Island) – these areas were designated for sports facilities and greenery. The buildings of Kępa Mieszczańska were to be preserved. It was planned to reconstruct the north frontage of Katedralna street, including historical building lines [92, p. 125]



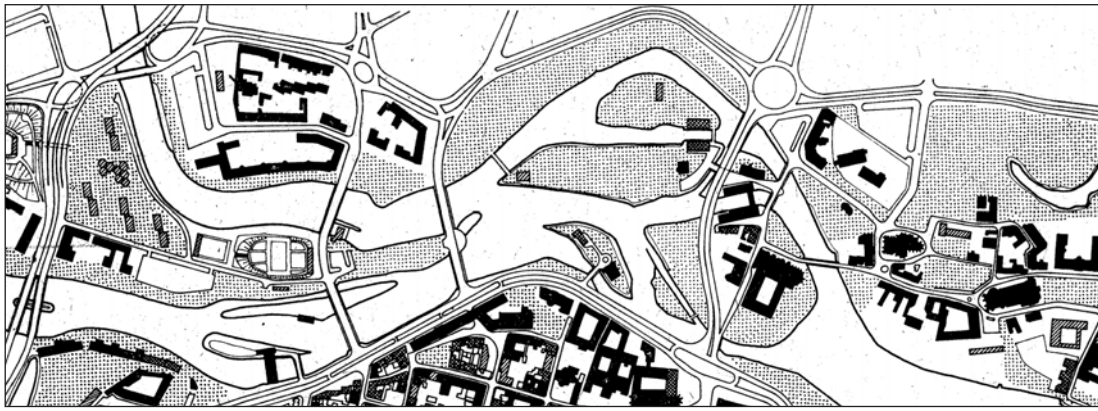
47. Fragment of the Wrocław spatial development plan from 1955. The study was prepared under the direction of Zbigniew Bodak. It lacked detailed guidelines on how to shape buildings and landscapes (Kępa Mieszczańska is practically omitted in the study). It was planned to reconstruct the frontage of Katedralna Street, and extend Staromłyńska Street, located behind the buildings of the Piaskowa Island [92, p. 127]

> [...] The islands are a perfect landscape spot. Safe, surrounded by water with difficult access. A large number of footbridges is unnecessary. The isolation of the island is its asset [...] [225]

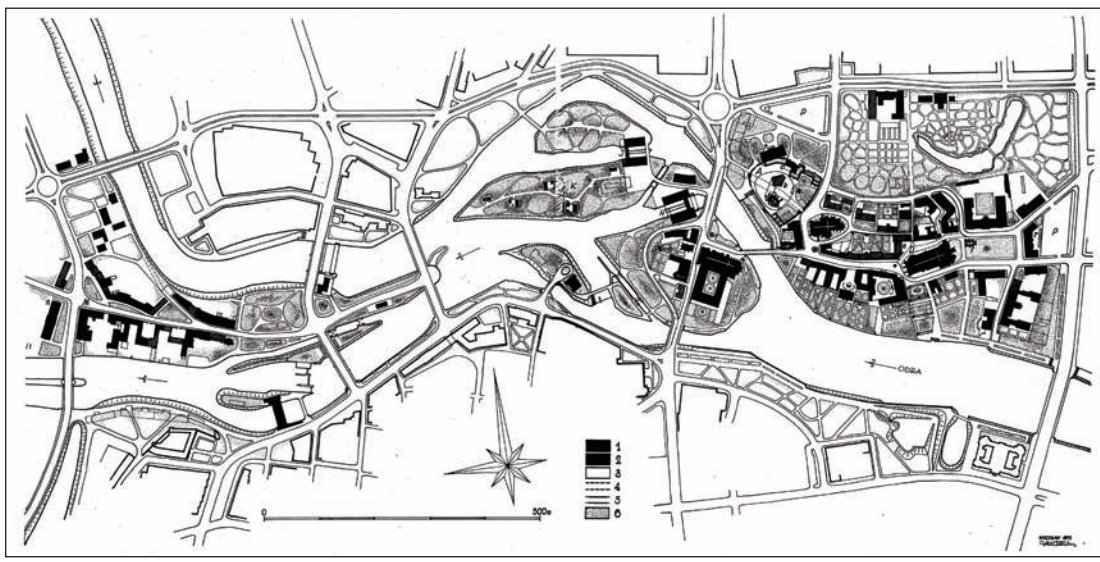
The designer decided not to restore the buildings of the Słodowa and Bielarska islands (apart from the renovation of St Clare Mills) and intended the islands for recreational and leisure purposes. In Kępa Mieszczańska, he proposed to supplement the demolished northern frontage in ks. Witolda Street (to replace the barracks) with new buildings imitating the historical shape of the street. He also planned to reconstruct the frontage of Katedralna Street in Ostrów Tumski and maintain the historical layout from the Piaskowy Bridge towards the city center[3].

The design solution that was to reconcile cultural and functional values was to separate traffic into two narrower, one-way streets: św. Jadwigi Street and

3 Ostrów Tumski was a separate island until the beginning of the 19th century. During the elimination of the city's fortifications, the Odra river branch separating it from Ołbin and Szczytniki districts was buried.



48. Fragment of the spatial plan of Wrocław from 1960. A study prepared under the direction of Zbigniew Bodak. The plan did not involve restoring the shape of the buildings on the islands and in the Ostrów Tumski area, along Katedralna Street. High-point residential buildings were introduced on the Mieszczańska Island in place of the already demolished barracks. In the area of road transport, a wide arterial road was designed connecting the small and large city beltways bypassing the historical route of św. Jadwigi Street, but dividing the island complex into two parts. An additional footbridge leading to Słodowa Island was introduced [92, p. 132]



49. A plan for the development of the Wrocław islands prepared at the onservator's Office in Wrocław in 1971. It took into account all the results of scientific research to date. Some of the conservation postulates contained in this study were used by a team working under the direction of Andrzej Gretschel in developing a development plan for the Old Town complex and the periphery in 1974; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

Staromłyńska Street with the traffic at the back of the buildings of the Piaskowa and Młyńska Islands. The author tried to avoid too many traffic connections between the islands – except for recreating the footbridge leading to the Bielarska Island. The western group of the Odra islands (mainly Kępa Mieszczańska) was to serve a primarily residential and industrial function and be a place where two

important communication routes of the city would cross. The eastern group (including the islands: Piasek, Słodowa, Bielarska) with much greenery became an element isolating the historical center of Wrocław.

Although not all the proposals presented in the island development design were reflected in later spatial studies, they were used by Edmund Małachowicz to mark the area of further conservation activities. He tried to implement his vision – as to the character of the complex – in later years when he worked as the Municipal Conservator of Wrocław and as an independent architect[4]. The conclusions from the study of this landscape complex served as an inspiration to create, among others, designs such as the Ethnographic Museum with a park on the Bielarska and Slodowa islands, development of the castle ruins in Ostrów or reconstruction of the northern frontage of Katedralna street.

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4 In 1971, a design for the development of the eastern group of Wrocław islands was prepared in the Municipal Conservation Office under the direction of E. Małachowicz.

3 Designs made individually at the request of the Conservator of the city of Wrocław – the church of St Mary on the Sand: restoration of the interior decor, reconstruction of vaults and roofs

Edmund Małachowicz also worked on designs in cooperation with the Conservator of the city of Wrocław. The reconstruction of vaults and roofs together with the interior decor in the church of St Mary on the Sand can be considered one of the most important works.

The history of this temple dates back to the 12th and 13th centuries when the building endowed by Piotr and Maria Włost was erected[1]. Presumably, it was an oriented, one or three-nave church with two towers, a transept, a chancel ended with an apse, with two annexes on the sides. Around the 14th century, it was rebuilt in the Gothic style, and the body and towers were demolished. A two-aisle, six-bay, two-tower building was created with a lierne vault in the nave and a polygonal chancel. From the south, there was a four-bay, one-story, rectangular sacristy covered with a rib vault. The church had three ogival portals, including one constituting the main entrance, decorated with a wimperg. The interior of the nave had a separate monastic choir, closed with a three-bay, high rood screen. The side chapels had net-rib vaults, and groin vaults under the towers and choir. In 1430, the south tower was completed and closed with a fortified top. It had the form of a closed, overarching, wooden porch on cantilevers, covered with a hipped roof, and topped with a lantern[2]. Only the southern tower was fully completed - it was ascended to a height of 49 m. In the years 1657–1677 the church was rebuilt by the design of T. Moretti (1666–1667). Stained glass was smashed, the walls were whitewashed. The tower's top was changed into a modern one. In 1683, a new St Cross chapel with a dome topped with a lantern was erected by the design of A. Coldin. After a fire in 1730, the church was rebuilt in the Baroque style. The rood screen was demolished, and wooden galleries and new Baroque altars were put into the interior.

The chapel of St Yvonne was remodeled, and the tower top was rebuilt in the form of a hipped mansard roof. After another fire in 1791, the tower was covered with a low hip roof made of copper sheet, the form in which it survived until 1945.

1 Czerner O., *Leksykon*..., p. 398.

2 Description based on illustrations from the Sehedelá chronicle from 1493 and according to Weiner's plan of 1562 [195, p. 2].

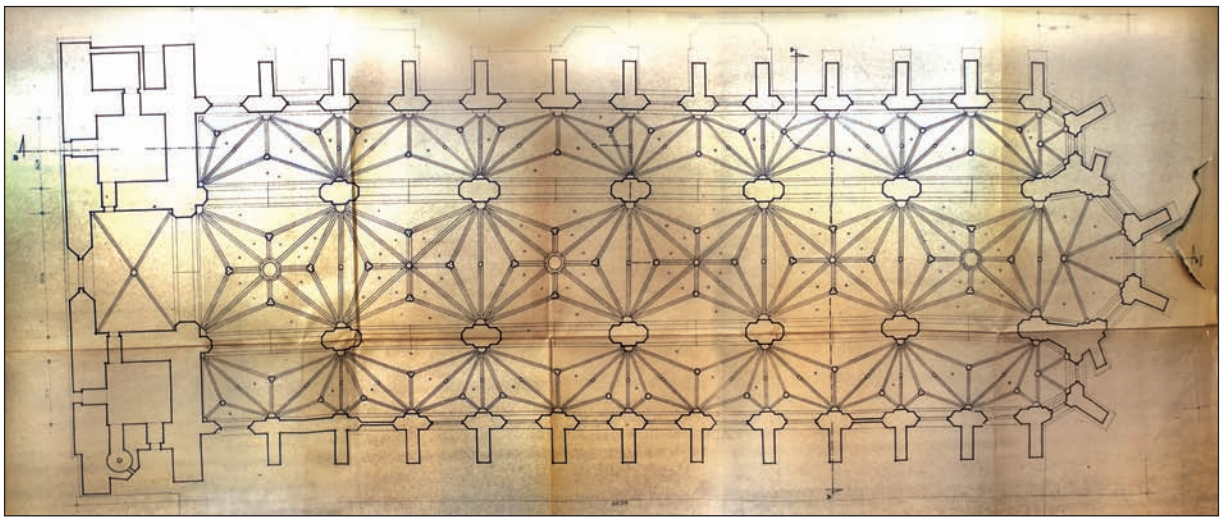
50. The church of St Mary on the Sand (1960–1962) [236, access: 20.04.2019]

During World War II, the church lost its roofs, the tower top, window slides, and Baroque decor. Part of the outer walls was razed; half of the vaults collapsed. The overall degree of destruction was estimated at 75% [96, pp. 209, 229, 230]. In 1948, the most necessary salvage work was carried out under the direction of W. Rawski. The apse walls were supplemented, and a new steel roof truss covered with Roman tiles was made.

In 1961, the reconstruction of the vaults became a necessity, as the statics of the building was already significantly affected. Walls and pillars stretched apart by the preserved vaults showed significant deviations from the vertical. It was also necessary to rebuild the roofs above the towers to protect the remaining walls.

The reconstruction of the vaults in their previous form did not cause any particular difficulties thanks to the preserved fragments of several surviving bays, as well as photographic and measuring materials. The reconstruction of the tower top was more complicated. Well-known iconography[3] did not allow for an accurate design of the silhouette, neither medieval nor modern, and the pre-war form was considered inappropriate in terms of shape and proportion. Therefore, a simple hip roof covered with Roman tiles was proposed, harmonizing with

3 Edmund Małachowicz referred to the views of the city: Weiner (1562), Hauer (1591), Merian (1650), Schleuen (1741), Homann (1752), Wernher and the engraving depicting the unimplemented design of the top after a fire in the 18th century [195, p. 2].



51. St ary's Church – a projection of designed vaults (1961) [195]

the massive body of the church and the unfinished architecture of the western façade. A similar roof was designed for the second tower, keeping a roof window that crossed the cornice, which emphasized its unfinished state. Over the part between the towers, a one-slope roof was designed, with a roof window located on the façade axis.

The keystones, cantilevers, and ribs of the nave were designed as light sandstone. The ribs of the vaults of the aisles were planned to be made of brick aggregate concrete, due to the difficulty of obtaining ceramic profiled bricks, and were to be painted in brick colour with the addition of hydrochloric acid. Vaulted fields were supplemented with full brick on cement mortar, reinforced with a layer of concrete on the top. Existing ribs and vaults were intended to be preserved after wedge reinforcement and pointing and consolidation with cement mortar. In the vaulted fields, gold-plated copper sheet stars were designed, mounted on iron handles in the ventilation openings. The newly designed roofs were to be made based on a wooden structure anchored to the walls of the tower and covered with Roman tiles. Dehydration was provided in the form of gutters hidden in the slope and a downpipe.

As a result of research on preserved parts of the plaster and the wall bond, the original interior decor was found, which was a combination of brick and plaster[4]. After analyzing the issue, it was decided that the decor layer from the 14th or 15th centuries had to be reproduced as it was the oldest and sufficiently proven. The conservation concept assumed plastering strips, wall parts, pillars, and vault fields with a thin (3-4 mm) layer of plaster. The surface of the plaster remained uneven – to recreate the curvature of the walls and was painted with

4 Under the two layers of lime whitewash, fields and strips (on the walls and pillars) plastered with an uneven layer of plaster (2–5 mm thick) were discovered. Parts of the walls and pillars, as well as brick ribs of the aisles, had a surface painted in a non-covering red, with joints painted with lime milk. Apart from the eastern and western sides of the pillars, regular and consistent decorative arrangements made from burr were not observed. Some of the keystones and most of the cantilevers under the layers of whitewash had their polychrome in the colours of red-orange, yellow, blue-green, brown, black – made using the tempera technique [192, pp. 1, 2]

52. Church of St Mary on the Sand (2014); photo: E.G.

lime milk. After cleaning, strips, edges, lesenes, and brick ribs were painted with diluted red paint, with the outline of joints rendered with lime milk using a brush. New stone elements, such as ribs, keystones, and cantilevers, were to remain in natural colour. The authentic polychrome of the retrieved keystones was cleaned and preserved. Following the design of Teresa Reklewska, new stained glass windows in simplified forms were also made.

In the course of reconstruction works in the interior, excavations were conducted under the direction of Olgierd Czerner. The relics found were preserved and exhibited. Some of them were used to reintegrate the elements of the historical interior, e.g., part of the rood screen. The interior was complemented by ancient cabinet altars from the 14th and 15th centuries, coming from museum collections or damaged Silesian churches. The basic reconstruction was carried out in 1962 and 1963 under the direction of Edmund Małachowicz. Finishing works continued, however, until 1965 [203].

After the reconstruction, the church serves not only a sacred function but also a museum one – thanks to the exhibition of a large number of objects of this value, it has gained a special significance compared to the other monuments of Wrocław. It is certainly one of the most valuable monuments of historical Gothic architecture in Poland.

4 Design documents prepared at Miastoprojekt Wrocław General Construction Design and Research Office. Towards modernity

1962–1964

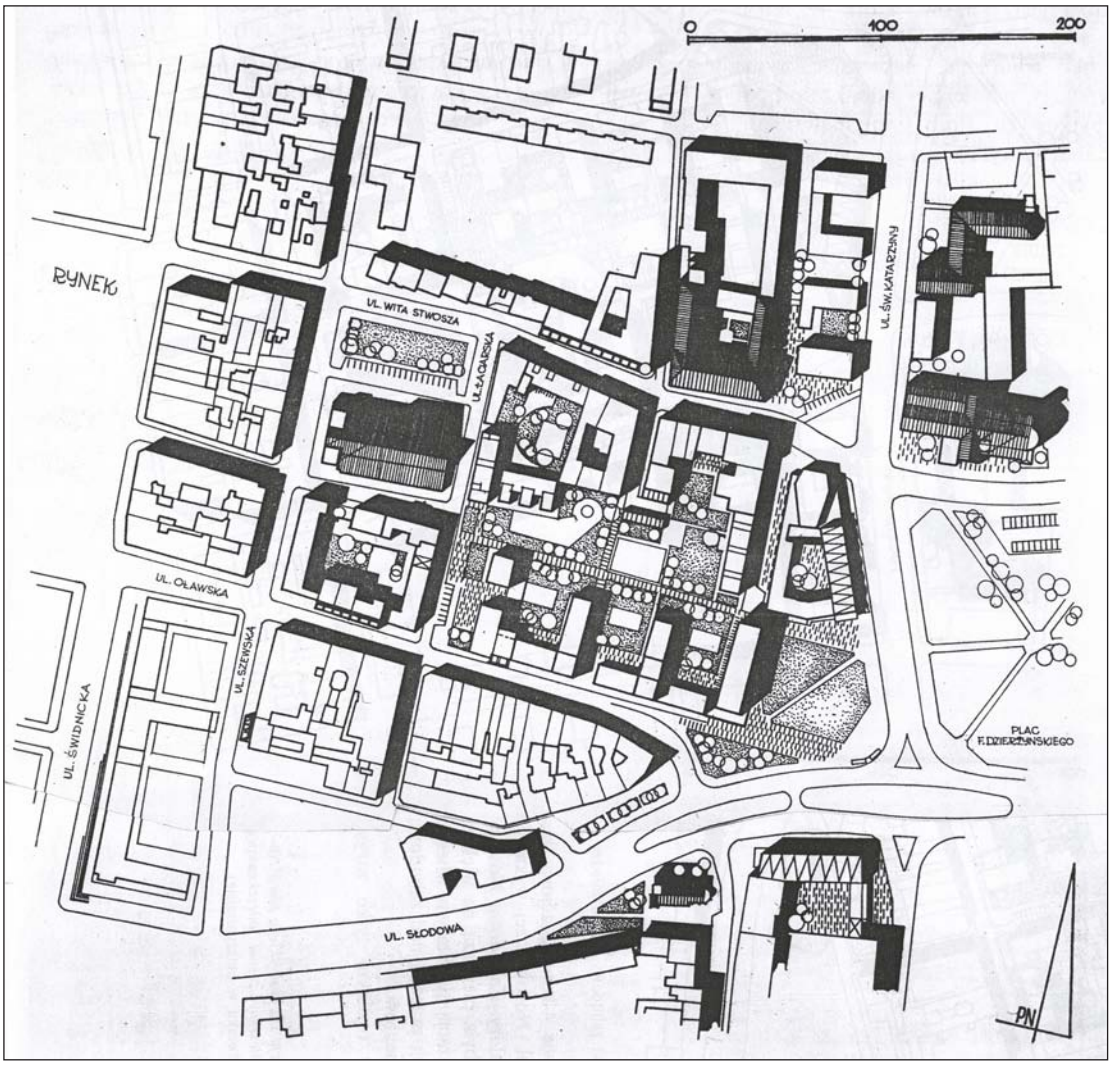
Conservation was undoubtedly the main domain in the professional activities of Edmund Małachowicz. His designs, which are part of the neo-modernist architecture of the 1960s, are the result of his work at Miastoprojekt[1]. In 1962 Edmund Małachowicz was employed in a studio headed by Kazimierz Klimczewski. Initially, the office took an active part in the reconstruction of Lower Silesian cities, but over time, its main task became the design of new housing estates, recreation and sports facilities, industrial facilities, and health care.

The rejection of the doctrine of socialist realism in 1956, the political thaw, and a return to pre-war ideas of modernism gave architects hope to develop their bold ideas. Design freedom turned out to be only apparent (this is well illustrated by the quote of the book from the late 1960s, written in the artificial language of the newspeak of the time: architectural creativity in Poland develops in an atmosphere of greater freedom (sic!), limited by the assumptions of maximum purposefulness and economics of the task to solve, and technical and material capabilities of craft [16, p. 17.] Architectural activity concentrated in state design offices was then primarily subordinated to the implementation of the top goals imposed in the staged economic plans.

Given the growing population, the priority was residential buildings, along with the necessary basic services (e.g., schools, kindergartens), implemented in various so-called degrees of industrialization[2]. The impact of the new technology of erecting buildings was that the reconstruction of the Old Town in Wrocław in the form of urban infilling, initiated in the 1950s, was inhibited. From then on, investments were to be carried out primarily on large construction sites – no less than 2,000 rooms, and carried out in the second or third degree of industrialization [115, pp. 23–26]. These assumptions were met by the blocks in the eastern Old Town, heavily damaged in the course of the war, which, cleared of the remains of the former buildings, were designated to host new housing estates.

1 The headquarters of Wrocław's Miastoprojekt was in 36–40 Ofiar Oświęcimskich Street.

2 The so-called degrees of industrialization referred to the number of prefabricated elements used for the implementation of the construction investment. The most popular technology was the second level of industrialization used for load-bearing walls in a transverse structural system. The third assumed assembly of the entire object from prefabricated elements.



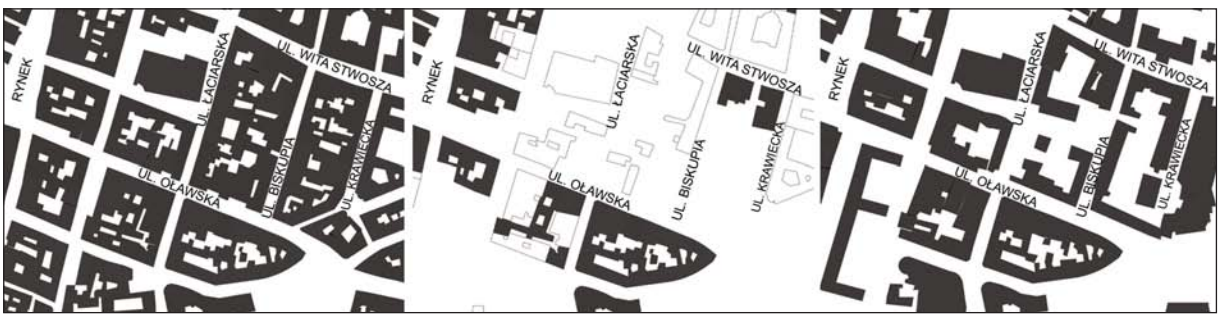
53. Design of new buildings in the Old Town area between Szewska, Wita Stwosza, Oławska and today's Dominikański Square (1961); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

The most famous realization from this period is the complex built in Nowy Targ square (designed by Anna and Jerzy Tarnawski, Włodzimierz Bronic-Czerechowski, and Ryszard Natusiewicz). Another zone of concentration of new buildings in the Old Town area was the surroundings of F. Dzierżyńskiego Square (today's Dominikański Square limited by the streets of Oławska, Wita Stwosza and Szewska). In 1959 a nationwide urban competition was announced[3], whose winners were Gerard Alexewicz and Ryszard Natusiewicz. The winning concept

3 The area covered by the competition also included the New Town area and partly the so-called Oławskie Suburb [108, p. 107].

was the basis for the development designs of this area made in 1961– 1963 by a team of architects composed of Ryszard Natusiewicz, Edmund Małachowicz, Jan Misiewicz and Kazimierz Klimczewski.

The vision of the competition winners referred to contemporary tendencies in urban planning and architecture inspired by the activity of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris called Le Corbusier (1887–1965)[4]. The design assumed functional integration of two blocks of buildings, shortening of Krawiecka Street and Biskupia Street and creating a pedestrian route on the extension of Kaznodziejska Street. The interior thus created was to be fitted with recreational devices and services complementary for a residential complex, including a kindergarten, as well as greenery. The way the buildings were shaped did not imitate the traditional peripheral arrangement as well. The frontage building line along Wita Stwosza and Oławska streets was maintained, while the way the buildings were located



54. Urban transformations of blocks between Łaciarska, Wita Stwosza, Biskupia, and Oławska Streets – from the left: 1935, 1945 (objects partially destroyed have been marked with an outline, objects preserved have been filled), 2015; ed. E.G.

inside the block with an urban accent in the form of a tower block on the corner of Kaznodziejska Street and Łaciarska Street can be seen as a reference to the comb-style building line.

The newly designed architecture was to contrast its façade design and the technological solutions used with the surrounding historical buildings. Both the plans and bodies of buildings were to be simple, geometric, modular.

In the course of the 1963–1967 investment, there were many changes and simplifications in relation to the original concept. The individually designed architectural solutions had been changed to the so-called Wroclaw unification [92, p. 235].

4 According to Le Corbusier, architecture and urban planning should take into account the sun, sky, trees, steel, and concrete. However, M. Włodarczyk pointed out in her book that at the time Polish versions of the books of this French architect were not available, except for the brochure published in 1956 by the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, in which the idea of the modulor was discussed. Lack of universal access to source texts could influence the idealization of these symbols of modernity [149, p. 34].

4.1 Buildings of 7, 10–12 Łaciarska Street and the northern frontage of Kaznodziejska Street (1962)

The implementation of the main competition assumptions started with the buildings in the vicinity of Łaciarska and Kaznodziejska streets. In 1962, design works were completed in the case of 7 Łaciarska Street (designed by Edmund Małachowicz and Jan. Misiewicz) and 10–12 with the kindergarten along Kaznodziejska Street (designed by Edmund Małachowicz and Ryszard Natusiewicz).

The urban composition was defined at the competition stage and then detailed in the so-called stage plan for the entire investment[5]. It was assumed that the residential building along 10–12 Łaciarska Street would maintain the historical building line. It needed to refer to the neighboring object with its dimensions and have a vertical accent – a terrace with a solarium in the southern corner. At the intersection of Kaznodziejska and Łaciarska streets, a second residential building was designed – a tower block, located along the designed pedestrian route on the extension of Kaznodziejska Street[6].

Both flat blocks had been designed with a similar functional layout[7]. The basement was allocated to a steam injector room and private storage closets. The rest of the buildings were to contain flats (including the ground floor). A laundry and drying room was planned on the top floor. The adopted division marked the flats with symbols from M1 to M7, where the digit corresponded to the number of persons[8]. Approx. 11 m^2 per person was accepted, and the average size of a single premise was 44 m^2.

In the building at 7 Łaciarska Street, M5 flats were designed with a usable area of 55.56 m^2 and M2 with a usable space of 27.24 and 25.27 m^2. Greater diversity was adopted for the building in 10–12 Łaciarska, where there were premises of type M2 – 24.1 m^2, M3 – 33.6 m^2 and 34.1 m^2, M4 – approx. 46.8 m^2, and M5 – 57.1 m^2 planned on the top floor.

The structure of the objects was to be made of transverse bearing walls with a spacing of 5.10 m and 2.70 m, made in the second stage of industrialization.

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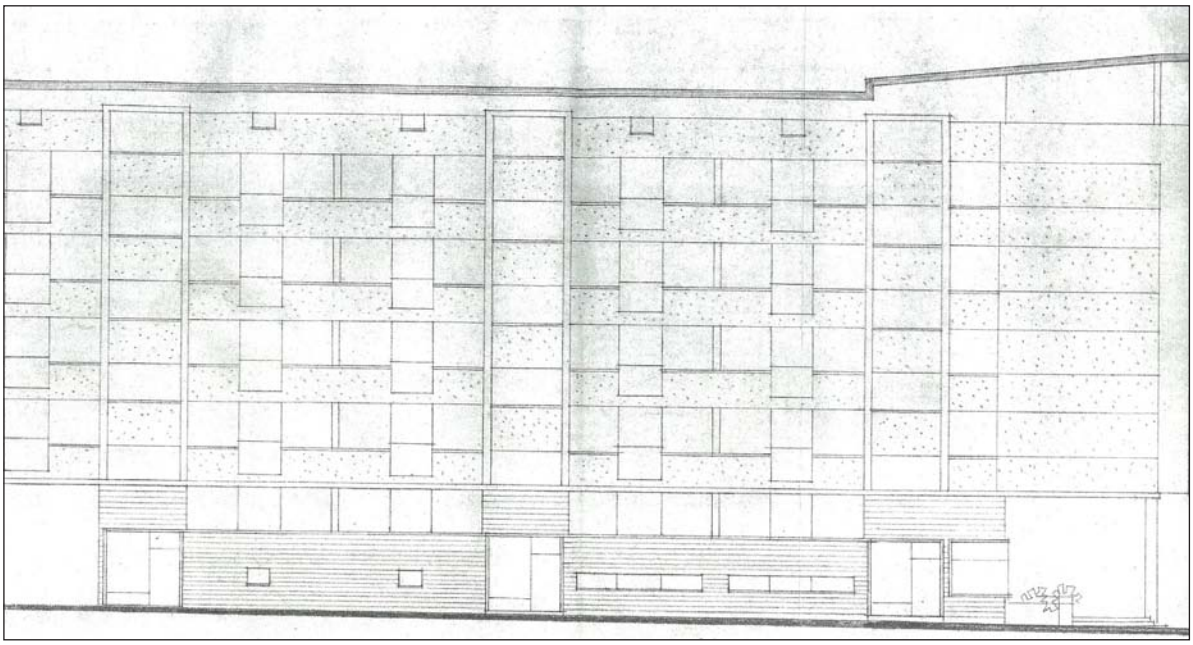
5 The influence of the investor, i.e., the Directorate for the Construction of Workers' Housing (DBOR), on the final way this part of the Old Town in Wrocław was going to be developed was significant. It had the right to formulate the main design guidelines, which were then included in the so-called stage plans. An example would be the guidelines of 27 November 1961, for a block of buildings limited by the following streets: Wita Stwosza, Krawiecka, Oławska and Biskupia, where five-storey buildings were designated. The buildings in 83 and 85 Oławska Street and in 2 Kaznodziejska Street were intended for the so-called technical death. In addition, a separate area for kindergarten was assumed as well.

6 The elimination of the frontage-type building line in this place was associated with providing the required lighting conditions for the planned kindergarten in the northern frontage of Kaznodziejska Street.

7 Description of functional, architectural, and structural solutions was made based on [209; 211].

8 The size of the flats was defined by the surface norm, which in the case of M2 flats meant the size of the living space was 24–30 m^2, M3 – 33–38 m^2, M4 – 42–48 m^2 and M5 – 51–57 m^2.



55. Front façade design of the building at 10–12 Łaciarska Street in Wrocław (1962), arch. E. Małachowicz, J. Misiewicz [211]

Modular ceilings were also used: from channel panels in 7 Łaciarska Street and CMU panels in 10–12 Łaciarska Street. The prefabrication also covered the roof structure[9], chimney blocks, loggia boards, internal stairs, window sills, and banisters. Partition walls were designed as made of perforated brick.

The way the façade was shaped was based on simple, geometric, horizontal divisions, not related to the old lot division. Attempts were made to introduce vertical accents in the form of staircase enclosures. Both buildings had simple, compact bodies, varied from the east with loggias at 7 Łaciarska Street and balconies at 10–12 Łaciarska Street. What was an interesting element was the columnar supporting construction in the shape of two V letters in the arcade, supporting the massive block of the southern gable wall of the building at 10–12 Łaciarska Street. The modest material capabilities of the time-limited the possibilities in which the plasticity of the buildings' exterior could be shaped. The pedestal and ground floor from the street side were to be made of terracotta or colourful terrazzo tiles. The architects tried to introduce some texture variations in the façade surface using medium-sized gravel plaster to cover the staircase verticals, load-bearing walls, and loggia covers, as well as smoothened plaster in the rest of the façade. The roof finishing material was a double-layered roofing paper on an adhesive layer.

The flats were designed encompassing the basic bathroom and kitchen equipment, adjusted to the adopted area. The premises designed for two (sometimes also for three people) had kitchen niches with a single-chamber sink, a pantry-cupboard cabinet, a hanging sideboard, and a gas stove. Larger flats (M4 and some of M3) were designed with a separate kitchen arranged in a very

9 Corrugated panels were used.

56. The gable wall of the building at 10–12 Łaciarska Street (the 1990s); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

similar way[10]. The equipment of a typical bathroom consisted of: a toilet bowl, a washbasin, a 1.4 m or 1.5 m long bathtub, sometimes replaced with a shower-tray in an M2. The buildings were designed with gas, plumbing, electricity, heating as well as telephone and television installations.

The building at 10–12 Łaciarska Street was simplified in its body in the construction phase – among others, a vertical accent in the form of a southward terrace with a solarium was abandoned. Instead of drying rooms and laundries, more flats were added on the top floor. Additionally, the ground floors of the buildings were not accented with a different façade material (e.g. terracotta panels) – the whole was covered with plaster.

Along the north frontage of the Kaznodziejska street, a one-story nursery building was designed as one of the so-called basic services for the residential complex. The one-story building was supposed to be an architectural enclosure and partly cover the interior of the block with outbuildings [209, p. 1]. The kindergarten had been designed to make the most of midday light. Besides, around the building, there was a playground with appliances, a pergola, and a sledge hill made of greenery and debris reinforced with a retaining wall from Biskupia Street.

10 In flats with niches, 2-flame stoves were usually installed, in those with a separate kitchen – 4-flame ones.

57. Kindergarten in Łaciarska Street (2nd half of the 20th century); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

The kindergarten for 90 children consisted of three wards. Each had a south-westward facing room, illuminated from three sides with daylight, and was connected to the other by a corridor on the north side. The functional division reflected how the body of the building was shaped. Each of the rooms constituted a separate projection strongly extended to the south. On the north side and the other side of the corridor, utility rooms and hygiene and sanitation facilities were located.

The building was partially connected functionally with the building at 10–12 Łaciarska Street through the basement with additional technical rooms and the arcade in the southern façade. On the high ground floor connected by a staircase to the hall, there were rooms for kindergarten administration.

The building construction was planned to be traditional and made using prefabricated elements. The load-bearing walls were designed as made of brick, reinforced with poured reinforced concrete columns, while the internal walls were made of aerated concrete and cavity brick. The prefabricated elements were used for the construction of ceilings and roofs. The thermal insulation of the flat roof was to be made of reed mats, and the roofing of felt on an adhesive layer.

In the rooms intended for children, large glazing was designed in all three façades. The arrangement of windows from the north was stripe-like, horizontal, with different geometrical divisions. The basic finishing material was a light, smooth lime plaster. At the junction of the kindergarten with the building in 10–12

58. Façade from the side of 10–12 Łaciarska Street and a view from the kindergarten side (2018); photo: E.G.

Łaciarska Street, a pedestal made of terracotta tiles or terrazzo was designed – eventually, the plan was not implemented.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the building underwent remodelling. The original layout of the plan was changed – free spaces between the three

projections of children's rooms were built up. As a result, the sculpted body was replaced by a horizontal, one-story pavilion with a flat façade. The interior of the block, formerly densely built-up, is now covered with low and high greenery.

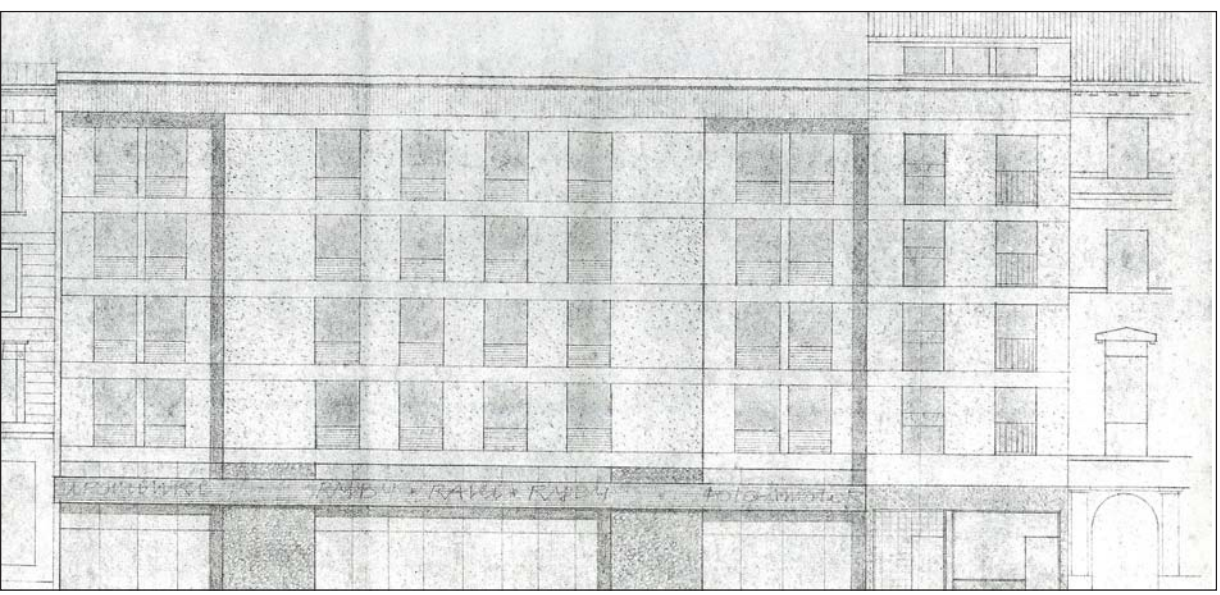
In recent years, the façades of both the residential building and kindergarten have received insulation and colour change. Unfortunately, the renovation was carried out without the knowledge of the principles of shaping the modernist façade in terms of its divisions, colours, or material solutions. As a result, the objects are good examples of a contemporary phenomenon called pastelosis by Filip Springer [19, pp. 63–86].

4.2 Urban infill at 13–14 Wita Stwosza Street (1963)

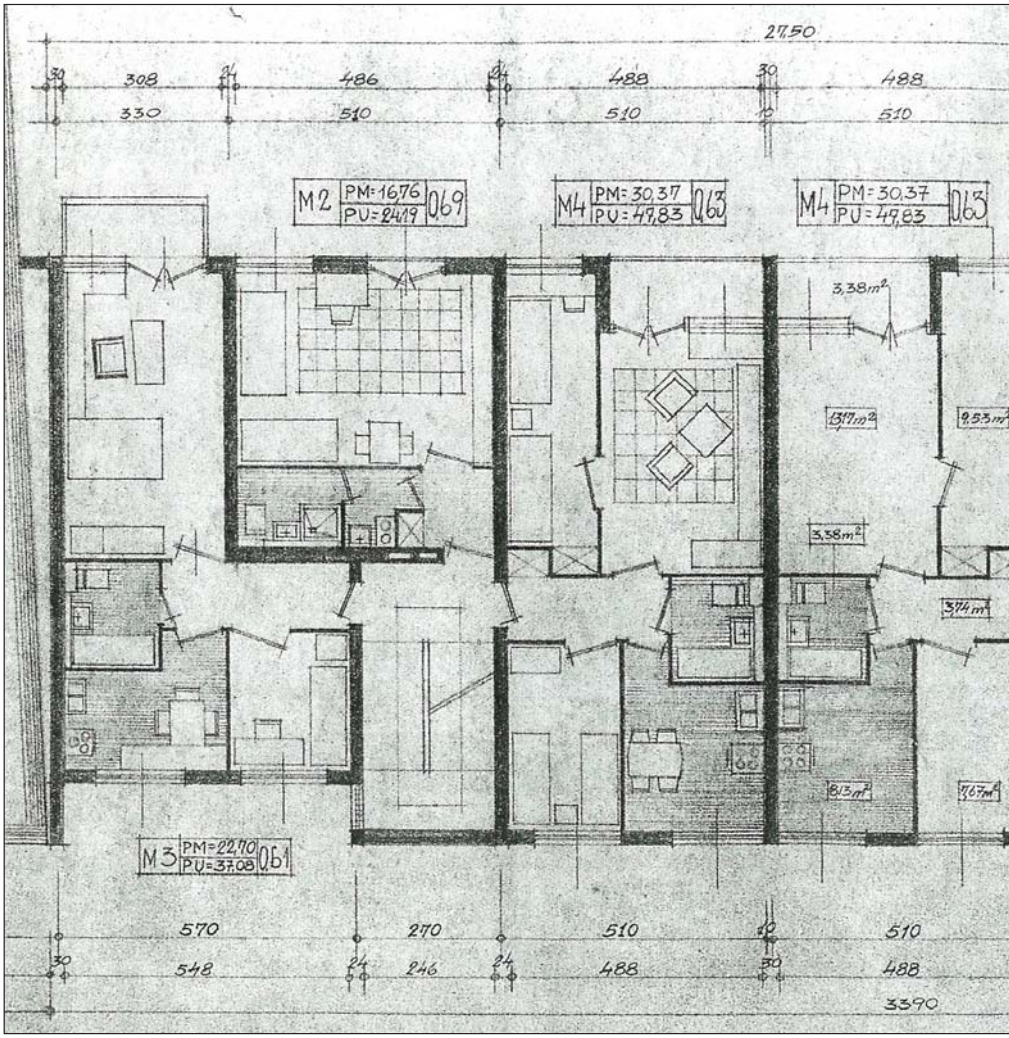
The design work on the block designated by Łaciarska, Wita Stwosza, Biskupia, and Krawiecka Streets was followed by a study by Edmund Małachowicz and Jan Bilski (from 1963), in which the creation of residential and service infill buildings along the southern frontage of Wita Stwosza Street was envisaged. The newly designed building was to fill the gap after two destroyed tenement houses at numbers 13–14, next to the former Hohenlohe Palace[11].

The building consisted of two parts – a typical residential section and an individually designed one at the junction with the body of the palace. Both parts had a different height and were thus referring to their immediate vicinity. Due to the location of the infill at one of the main pedestrian routes connecting the Market and Dominikański square (formerly F. Dzerżyński Square) the ground floor was

11 The former Schlegenberg palace modernized in the style of classicism for Prince Hohenlohe. In the first half of the 19th century, it was the seat of the Royal Bank [47, p. 255].



59. The front of the building at 13–14 Wita Stwosza Street (1963), arch. E. Małachowicz, J. Bilski [210]

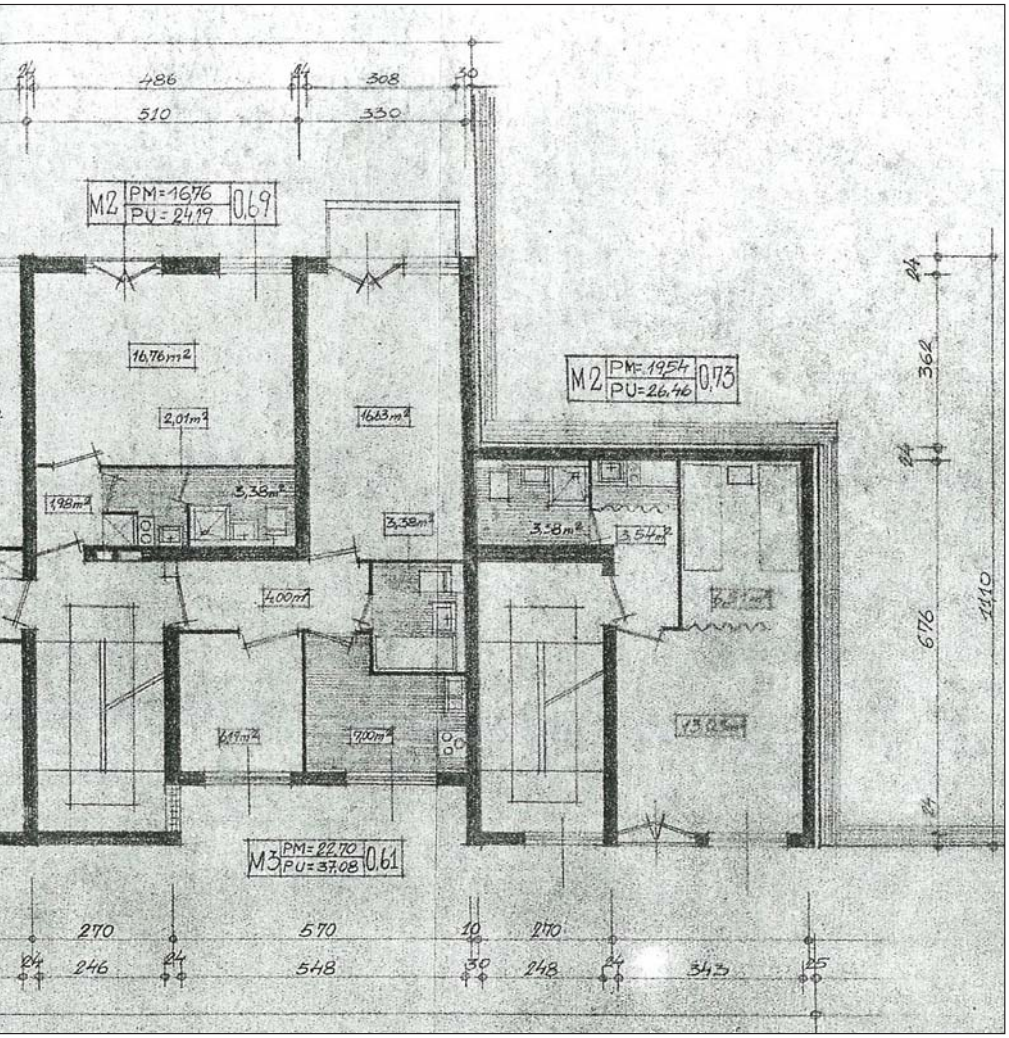


intended to host service premises: souvenir shop, fish shop, photographic shop, and watchmaker's shop.

Above, flats type M2 (20.78 m^2, 26.96 m^2, 24.19 m^2), M3 (37.08 m^2), M4 (47.73 m^2) were designed – on a repeating segment based on the transverse arrangement of structural walls with spans of 5.1 m, 5.7 m, 3.3 m, 2.7 m. The authors envisaged the possibility of removing part of the partition walls and rearranging the space to meet the needs of future residents. Storage rooms, technical rooms, as well as a laundry and drying room, were provided in the basements.

The part of the building that was in contact with the building at number 12 was to be designed individually. In addition to the service ground floor and four residential levels, it was also to have an attic covered with a sloping roof reminiscent of the neighboring palace.

The way the façade was shaped shows an attempt to strike a balance between vertical and horizontal divisions. In addition to the stripe rhythm of window



60. A plan of the modular floor of the building at 13–14 Wita Stwosza Street (1963), arch. E. Małachowicz, J. Bilski [210]

openings and inter-window strips made of silicate brick, two projections optically divided into smaller parts were introduced in the front of the building.

In addition, recessions in the façade were to provide lateral lighting of the staircases in the building. From the south, loggias or balconies had been designed for flats of type M3 and M4, and French windows for type M2. From the Wita Stwosza street, large display windows made of profiled steel and aluminum were designed. From the front, the plinth of the building was designed with stones pressed manually into the mortar[12], from the back – washable concrete. The remaining part of the façade was to be finished off with smooth plaster.

The base used was the transverse arrangement of structural walls made in the second stage of industrialization. The elements of the building such as foun-

12 The author of the concept of the original finish of building plinths was Stefan Müller. He used them, among others, in the design of buildings at 30–40 Nowy Świat.

61. Wita Stwosza Street (2019); photo: E.G.

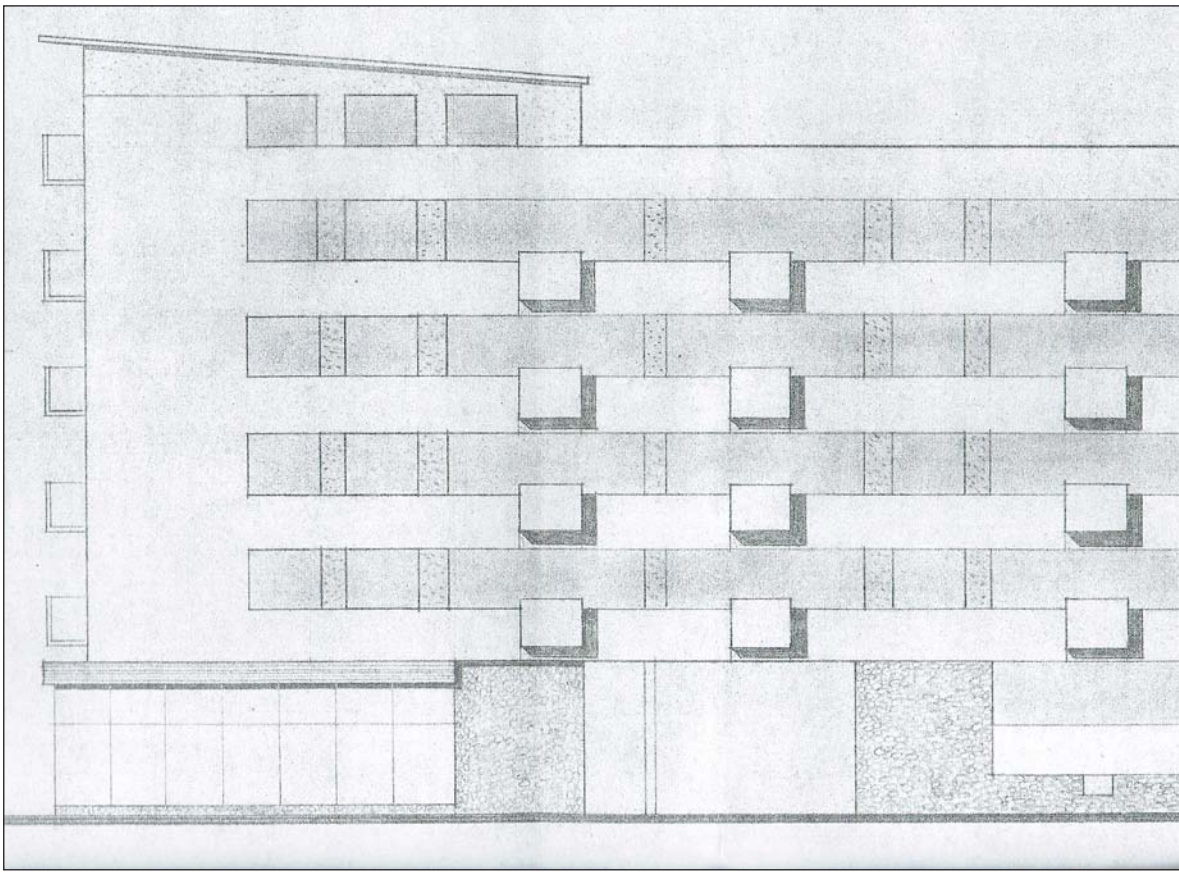
dations, basement walls, and the ground floor were designed as poured rubble concrete. It was proposed to use Żerań brick[13] for structural walls of the typical section, and traditional brick for the fragment designed individually. It was also planned to use prefabricated solutions for floor slabs[14], staircases, chimney blocks, balustrades, and window sills.

All premises were equipped with modern gas, plumbing, cogeneration plant-provided central heating, electric, telephone, and television installations. Up to the height of 1.4 m, oil-painted dadoes were the finish for hygiene and sanitation facilities. In other rooms, plasters were designed. The floor in the living rooms was made of oak mosaic, in the kitchens – PVC, and the bathrooms – terracotta tiles. The standard of furnishings was similar to that planned 7 Łaciarska Street and 10–12, with the only difference being that baths were expected only in the premises of the M4 type; in others, there was a shower with a shower tray.

Further stages of the design documents were prepared by S. Świątkowski and A. Bisztyga [108, p. 109]. The building was completed in 1966 and 1967.

13 Type of a large block precast.

14 In the modular part, slab-channel ceilings were designed, in fragments of the individually designed building – DMS.



62. Façade from 1–4 Biskupia Street (1963), arch. E. Małachowicz, R. Natusiewicz [212]

The differences in the height of the individually designed and modular parts were abandoned, and the entire front façade was unified. At the front, a protruding flat roof plate was designed in place of the coping, a reference to the neighboring cornice of the palace.

4.3 The northern frontage of Oławska Street (1963)

The design for a building at the corner of Biskupia Street and Oławska Street was also an extension of the urban concept from 1959. It was created in 1963 and consisted of two objects – a low laundry pavilion along Oławska Street and the corner residential and service building in the place of the destroyed tenement house Under the Black Eagle (Zum Schwarzen Adler), which once housed a well-known Wrocław brewery with a beer pub[15].

15 In the 1960s, pre-war lot numbering along Oławska Street was still the used, therefore the design documents include numbers 71–73 for the laundry pavilion (today 18–20 Oławska Street) and 70 for the residential and service building (today № 1, 3, 5, 7 Biskupia Street).

Edmund Małachowicz and Ryszard Natusiewicz were the designers of the building at the intersection of Oławska and Biskupia street. The architects intended it to be an urban closure of the corner of one of the main shopping and service streets and the newly planned pedestrian street, Biskupia[16].

The plan of the five-story building was based on a repeating residential section. In the basement, service premises and a passage to the interior of the block were planned, providing access to the laundry facilities. The upper floors were to house flats of the type M2, M3, M4 (in total, there were 42), illuminated by light from the east and the west. The building (except for the clearance) also had an underground part, where residents' storage rooms and technical rooms were located. As a vertical accent in the corner part, the designers placed an additional attic with two M2 flats and a laundry and drying room shared by all residents.

The body of the building was simple and compact. On the ground floor, there were large glazed profiled steel displays with aluminum strips applied from the outside and a coloured terrazzo pedestal. Balconies were designed on the eastern (from Biskupia street) and southern (from Oławska street) elevations. The basic finishing material of the façade was smooth plaster. On the east side, there was a plinth made of stones hand-placed into the mortar, and on the west – of poured concrete.

The structural system was typical of the residential architecture solutions used at the time: a system of transverse structural walls with a span of 5.10 m, 5.40 m, and 2.7 m, made in the second stage of industrialization. A distinctive feature of this building was the different shape of the southern load-bearing gable wall facing Oławska Street, in which balconies and window openings were designed. The foundations and walls of the basement were made of gravel concrete, load-bearing walls of Żerań brick, partition walls of cavity brick, and curtain walls of aerated concrete. The design utilized prefabricated internal stairs, roof panels, chimney blocks, door and window woodwork (in the residential part), balustrades and window sills.

Smooth lime plasters were planned in most rooms. The walls of staircases, bathrooms, kitchens, and laundries had dadoes up to the height of 1.4 m painted with emulsion paints. The floors in residential rooms and hallways were designed as oak mosaic, in the bathrooms as terracotta tile and in the kitchens as PVC. Stair flights were finished with molded terrazzo. A cement floor was designed in the basements, technical rooms, and laundry.

Fitting the flats in terms of hygiene and sanitary fixtures depended on the type and was analogous to the solutions used in the building at 13–14 Wita Stwosza. The same standard was also applied to supply the building with utilities and telecommunication installations.

The link between the newly designed service and residential building and the preserved buildings was to be a two-story laundry building designed by Edmund Małachowicz and Jan Misiewicz[17]. Initially, the building was to continue the line

16 The description of design solutions was based on design documents [215].

17 The design assumed that building № 74 (now № 16) would be demolished due to its poor condition. Finally, the walls were preserved to the 1st floor, and three residential floors were added.

63. Residential building with services on the ground floor, intersection of Oławska and Biskupia streets (2019) photo: E.G.

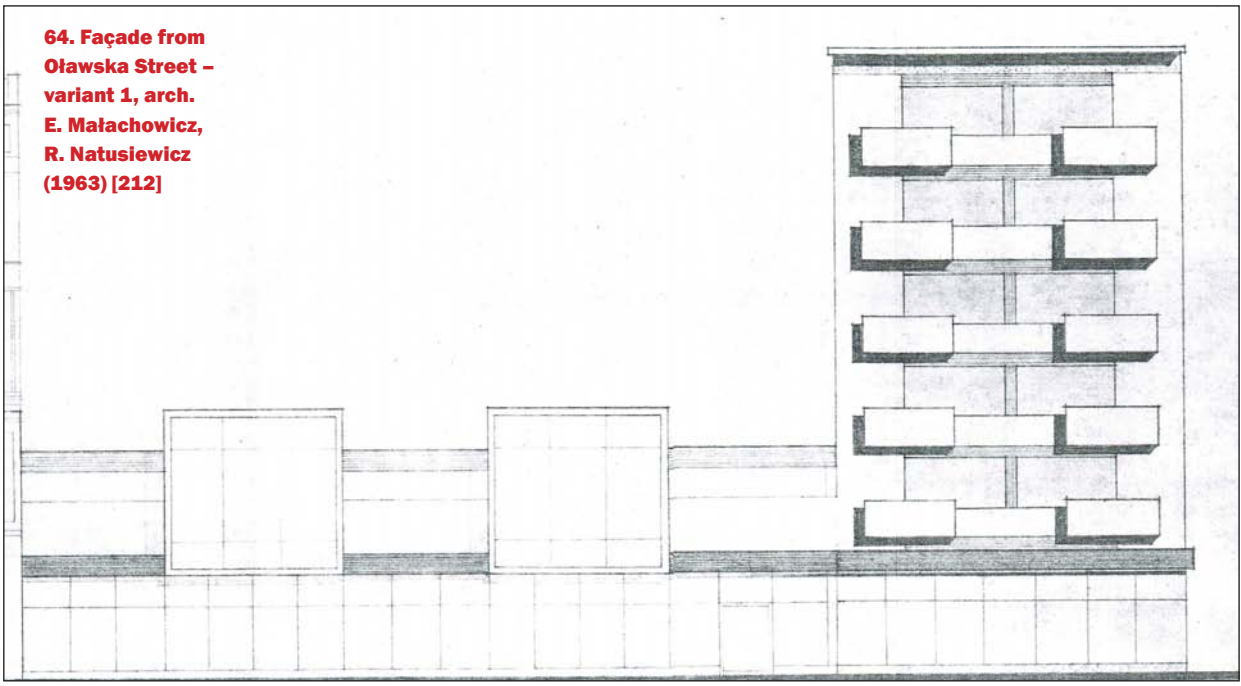
determined by the neighboring tenement house, however, in the course of arrangements, a decision was made to withdraw it 3 m deep into the plot[18].

On the ground floor, there was a hall with a waiting room for customers and a clothing cleaning department. The laundry hall was located on the first floor, and the storage and technical rooms in the planned basement of the building. The facility was also equipped with a service lift connecting all floors.

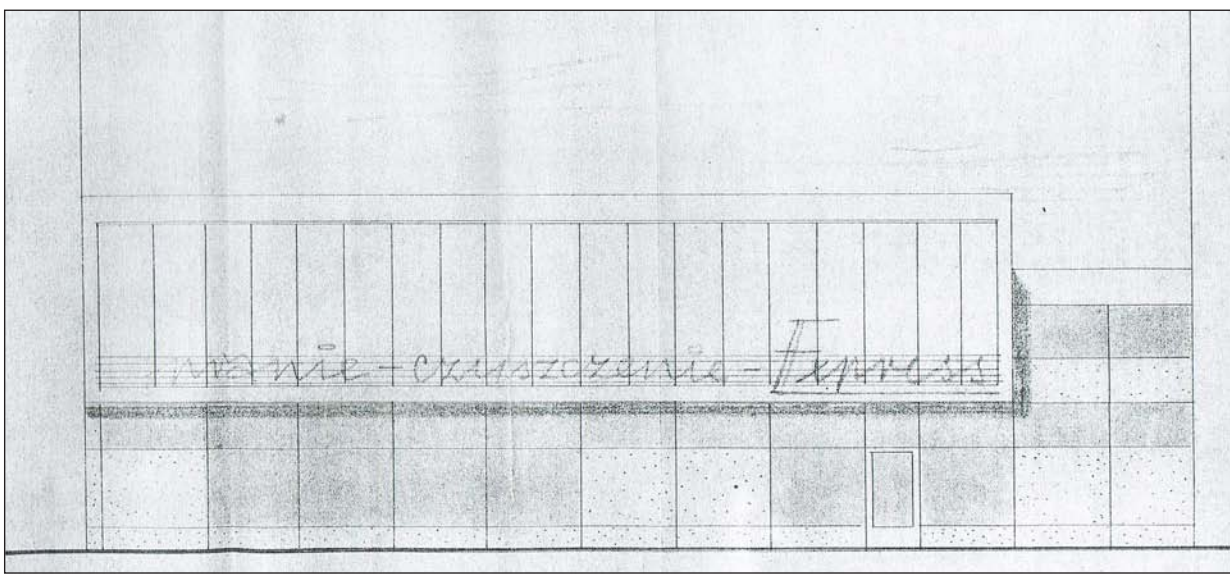
The building's structure was made of reinforced concrete. Prefabricated elements were also used, such as channel ceiling slabs (above the basement and first floor, above the ground floor a cast ceiling was designed), slag concrete roof, window sills, railings. The interior was dominated by limestone plaster, excluding the room on the first floor, where glazed cladding was used, and the hall walls, which were covered with opaque glass. In the hygienic and sanitary rooms, oil-painted dadoes up to 1.4 m high were designed, and up to 2 m for showers. The floors in the administrative and social rooms and corridors were made of PVC tiles and in the remaining overground part of the building – of terracotta.

The service pavilion was not a typical design in terms of both the planned function and form. During the work on the documents, three variants of the front from Oławska Street were taken into account. The first one considered large, striped glazing based on a lightweight aluminum frame structure, with stripes between storeys marking the course of the ceilings. In addition, two vertical ac-

18 Based on the author's analysis of iconographic materials, it can be concluded that, according to the map from 1935, the pre-war building line was also retracted in the place of the proposed premise.



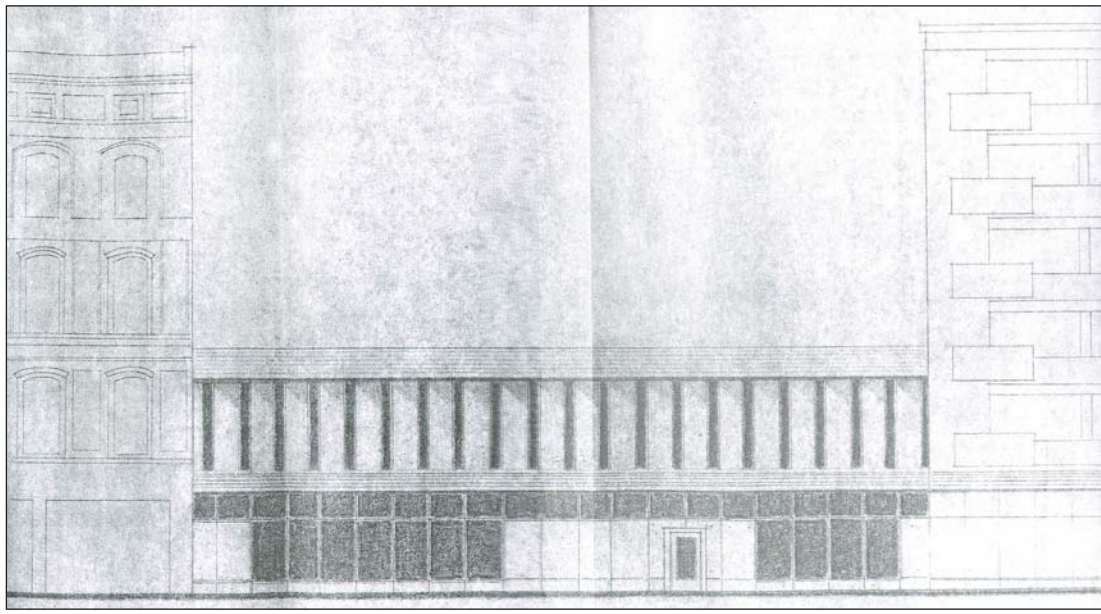
64. Façade from Oławska Street – variant 1, arch. E. Małachowicz, R. Natusiewicz (1963) [212]



65. Service pavilion, façade from Oławska Street – variant 2., arch. E. Małachowicz, J. Misiewicz (1963) [215]

cents were designed at the height of the first floor in the form of square reinforced concrete frames filled with glass panes. The view of the building from the side of Oławska Street was complemented by an adjacent tall residential and commercial building, accentuating the corner with Biskupia Street.

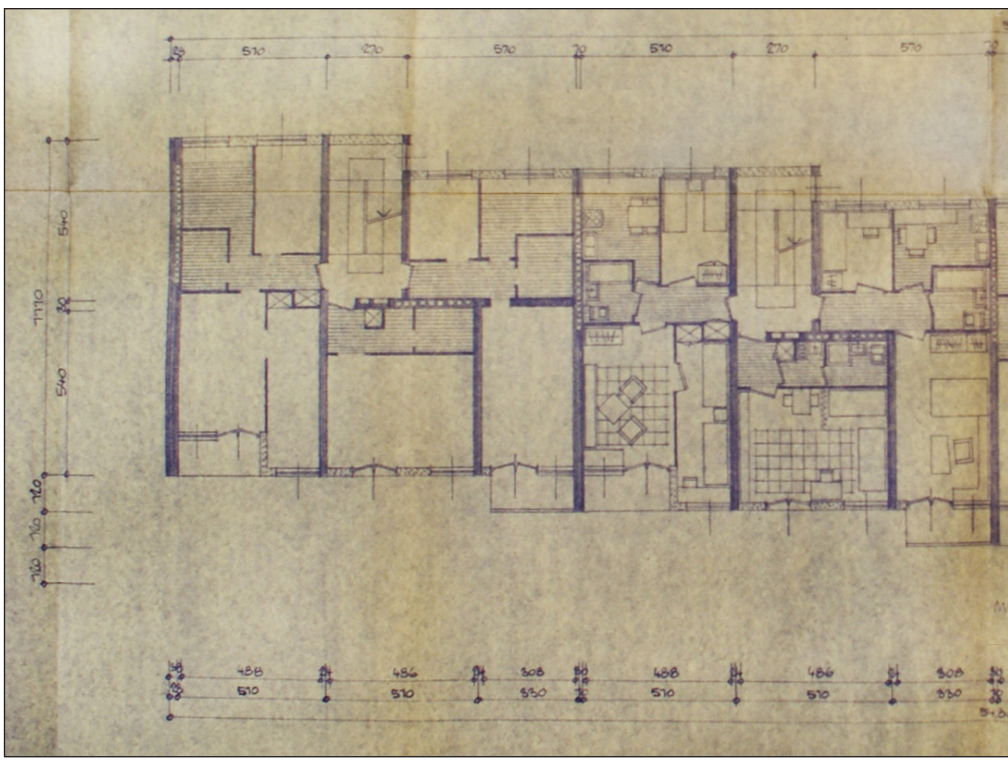
In the second one, it was assumed that the glazing area in the front elevation would be reduced in favour of a plastered aerated concrete curtain wall. On the first floor, a reinforced concrete frame was designed, filled with glass panes on



66. Service pavilion, elevation from Oławska Street – variant 3., arch. E. Małachowicz, J. Misiewicz (1963) [215]

67. Front façade of the laundry building from Oławska Street (beginning of the 21st century) [236, access: January 2019]

68. Residential building in Oławska Street with services on the ground floor, currently standing on the site of the laundry pavilion (2019); photo: E.G.

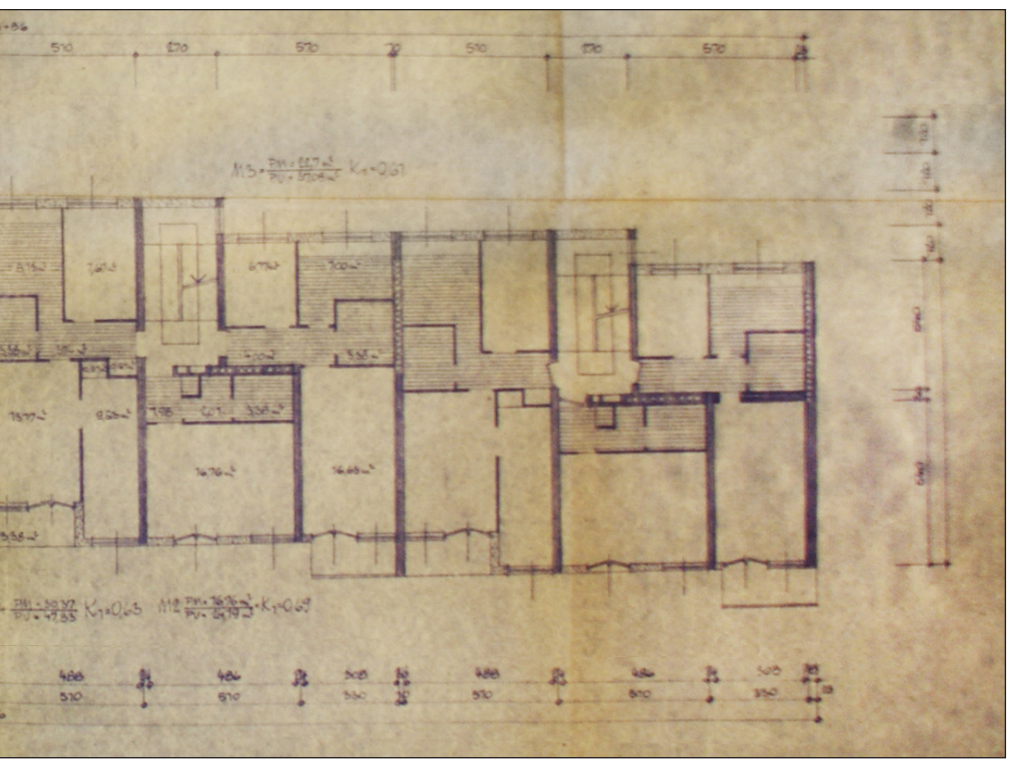


a steel and aluminum structure, with an openwork substructure for an advertising signboard in the lower part.

The option of replacing the glass window on the 1st floor with a light stepped curtain wall was also considered. The individual extensions were to be triangular – on one side filled with a steel panel, on the other, glazed. This way, it was possible to provide sidelight to the hall. Thus, looking from Oławska Street, an effect of spatial blinds would emerge, thanks to which the elevation would change its appearance depending on the direction of the observer's movement.

The completed version of the façade was a combination of the last two design concepts. A reinforced concrete frame was left in front of the face of the façade, but a stepped curtain wall made alternately of glass and steel panels was used as a filling. The laundry building was part of the northern frontage of Oławska Street until 2004. It was then demolished and replaced by a post-modern residential building with services on the ground floor. The corner residential and service building has survived to this day.

The decision to demolish the low laundry building can be justified by the fact that its function and scale were not appropriate for one of the most representative streets of the city. Despite the interesting forms, since they were individually designed in the period of common typification of architecture, it was decided to demolish the building without any attempt of reconstruction or change of use. Analysing the then trends in urban design, one may formulate a hypothesis that the adopted scale of the pavilion was not a coincidence, but a deliberate action resulting from a residential building being planned in its immediate vicinity. A higher building would limit the sunlight in the interior of the block and would



69. Plan of a modular floor, 22–28 Oławska Street [200]

70. A residential and service building at 22–28 Oławska Street (end of the 1970s); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

71. A residential and service building at 22–28 Oławska Street (2018); photo: E.G.

shade the façades of the corner building, which would not be in line with the ideas of returning modernism. The case of the laundry pavilion illustrates the contemporary logic of designing new buildings in the Old Town area of Wrocław (and beyond), where utilitarian considerations were more important than harmony with the historical scale and spatial arrangement.

An element filling the frontage of Oławska Street within the boundaries of numbers[19] 22–28 was a residential building with service outlets on the ground floor designed by Edmund Małachowicz in 1963. The layout of the residential level was based on a repetitive section consisting of M2 type flats with a floor space of 24.19 m^2, M3 – 37.08 m^2, and M4 – 47.33 m^2.

The construction scheme was based on transverse walls with spans of 5.10 m, 5.7 m, 3.3 m, 2.7 m. Other building materials and planned furnishing of flats were analogous to those described in the case of the buildings in Krawiecka Street and at the corner of Oławska and Biskupia Street. The only difference was the method of shaping the elevation by using 1.8 m faults between individual segments and verticals of the loggia, as well as French windows, which, according to the designer, were to create a small division characteristic of the Old Town [200].

The building's façade has been insulated in recent years. The form of balcony railings was also changed. Currently, it closes the exit of Oławska Street towards the East-West Route.

4.4 Design of buildings at 8–9 Szewska Street (1963)

At the intersection of Oławska and Szewska streets, before 1945, there was a house under the Golden Scales. The building was part of the eastern frontage of Szewska Street and was adjacent to the Kameleon department store (designed by Rudolf Petersdorf) at the opposite side of Oławska Street, with the Church of St Mary Magdalene to the north. The tenement house was three-storey, with a usable attic, covered with a multi-pitched roof with a multi-sided bay window in the corner. The building was destroyed in 1945, its remains dismantled to the foundations during the subsequent clearing of the city centre[20].

In 1963, a design by Edmund Małachowicz and Jan Misiewicz was developed based on the urban development concept of the area of today's Dominikański Square.

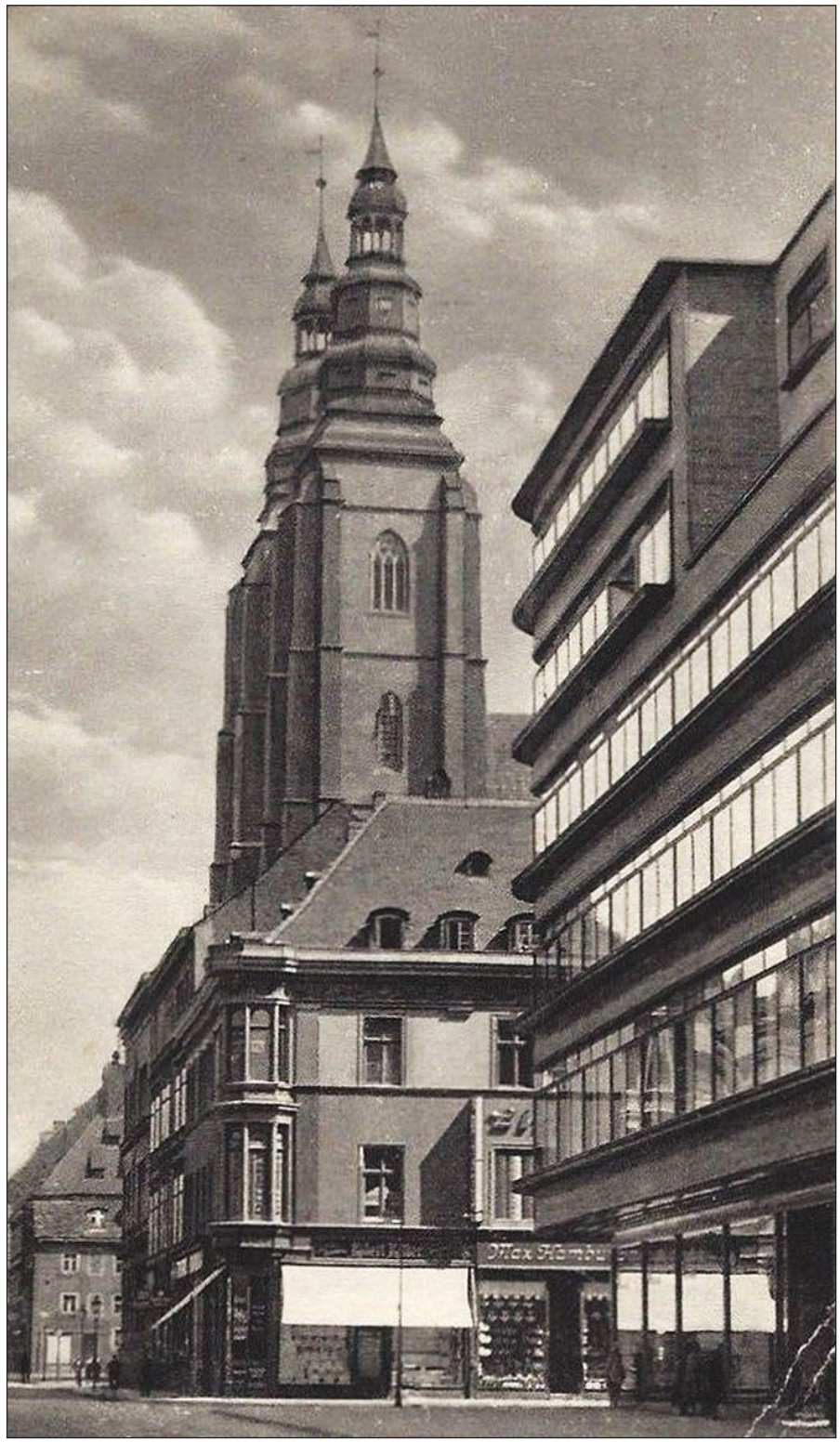
The architectural concept assumed the creation of a five-storey, gallery residential building with two staircases, which were to be the only vertical accent in the whole body[21]. At the point of contact between the building and an eclectic tenement house at 4 Oławska Street (former number 82), an additional residen-

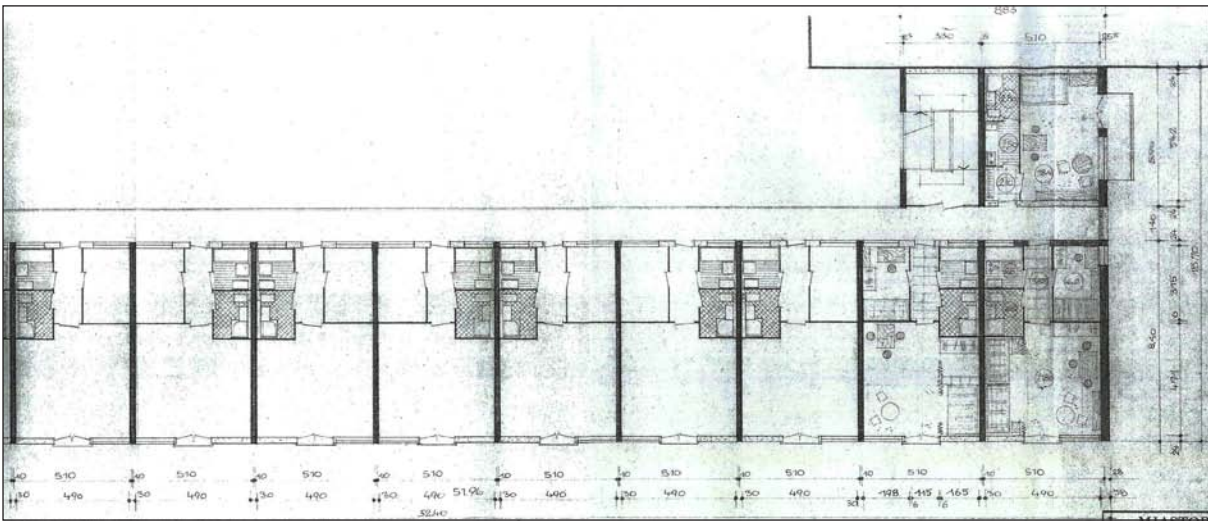
19 At the time of developing the design, the pre-war numbering of the plot along Oławska Street was used – for this reason, the design documents include numbers 66–68.

20 At the time the design was created, there were still remains of the building, but it was intended for complete demolition (above-ground part).

21 The description of the adopted design solutions was adopted based on [214].

72. The corner of Szewska Street and Oławska Street with a view of the House under the Golden Scales (the 1930s) [10]





73. Fragment of the modular floor plan, 8–9 Szewska Street, arch. E. Małachowicz, J. Misiewicz (1963) [214]

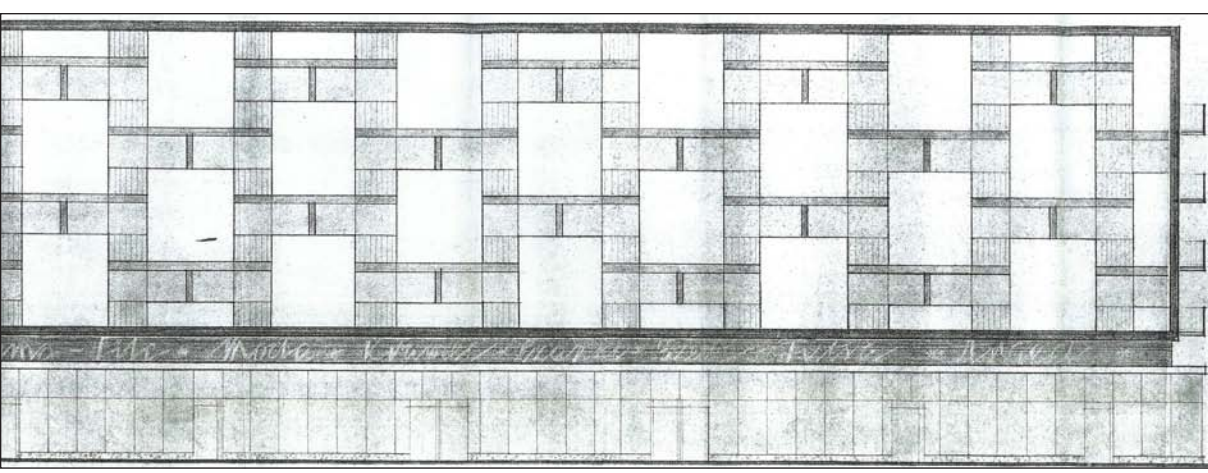
tial module was designed. It was assumed that the building would be moved back into the block from Szewska Street. The elevation from the side of Oławska Street was to continue the historical building line.

The ground floor was intended for commercial and service functions, the remaining overground storeys were to house four M2 type flats with an area of 25.8 m^2 and forty M3 – 37.5 m^2 **22**. The cellars were to house technical rooms, storage rooms, laundry rooms, and drying rooms.

The load-bearing structure of the building was a system of transverse structural walls made of prefabricated hollow core blocks, manufactured in the second degree of industrialization, except for the ground floor, where a pillar structure was adopted. The foundations, basement, and ground floor walls were designed as gravel concrete. Most of the curtain walls were to be made of aerated

74. Fragment of the front façade, arch. E. Małachowicz, J. Misiewicz (1963) [214]

22 In the case of the building designed for Szewska Street, two stores were planned, each with an area of approx. 80 m^2, a furrier's, caper's, shoemaker's, shoemaker's, tailoring, tailoring – all 57.4 m^2, and a newsagent.



concrete, except for the staircase walls, which, per the designers' vision, were brick. Prefabricated elements were planned to be used: hollow core floor slabs, slab stairs, slag concrete roof slabs, chimney blocks, balustrades, windowsills, window woodwork in the residential part, and gallery cantilevers. It was assumed that balcony slabs and rims would be poured out of concrete on the construction site. Partition walls in the flats were designed from hollow brick.

The body of the building was compact. The way the front was shaped (from Szewska Street side) was based on geometrical divisions and contrast between light plaster planes arranged in an alternating rhythm of windows and darker, striped fragments of the elevation marking the course of the ceilings and internal divisions. The completely glazed ground floor was to add some lightness to the strongly defined geometry of the building[23].

The access to the galleries was designed from the courtyard side, while the entrances to the staircases leading to the residential part were introduced on two side elevations with an additionally accentuated vertical strip of glass bricks. From the side of Oławska Street, there also were large display windows on the whole width of the ground floor of the building. Above that, the elevation was finished with plaster. The additional residential module, which was in contact with an eclectic tenement house at 4 Oławska Street, had balconies from the south. The parts where the ceilings ran were accented with darker finishing material. The interiors were designed as having plastered walls, painted with lime paints in light colours, and with oil-painted dadoes in hygiene and sanitation facilities and staircases. Floors in were finished with oak mosaic in rooms and hallways, with PVC in kitchens and with terracotta tiles in bathrooms. In the staircases and galleries a surface made of colourful, poured terrazzo was planned. In the rooms located below ground level, the flooring was made of smoothened cement.

The standard of kitchen equipment in M2 and M3 flats was very similar – it only differed in the size of the sink and the cooker[24]. Both types of flats had the same bathroom equipment including toilet bowl, washbasin, and shower tray[25].

It was planned to connect the building to the municipal heating, water supply, sewage, electricity, and telecommunication networks. Mechanical ventilation was proposed at the service premises.

Protection of the building against moisture was achieved through, popular at the time, roofing paper on an adhesive layer. The walls were not insulated; the only thermal protection was provided on the attic ceiling as a 15 cm layer of slag. Double reed mats laid on the ceilings were to isolate the rooms from the excessive transmission of sound.

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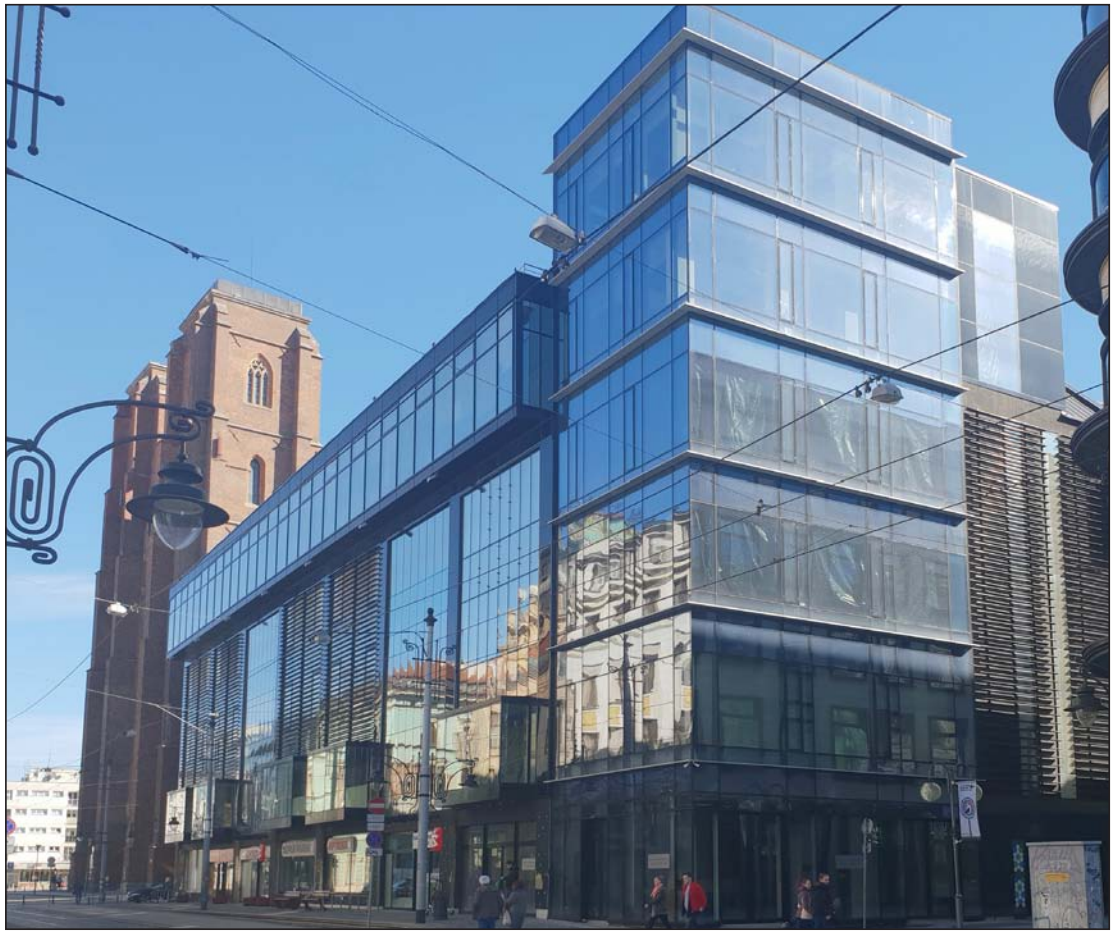
23 A building with a similar façade solution and the used repeating floor plan scheme was built (1966, 1967) at 133–135 Grabiszyńska Street, designed by Stefan Müller. The completed object is almost twice as high as the conceptual design discussed in the text. See [106, pp. 41–43].

24 A building with a similar façade solution and the used repeating floor plan scheme was built (1966, 1967) at 133–135 Grabiszyńska Street, designed by Stefan Müller. The completed object is almost twice as high as the conceptual design discussed in the text. See [106, pp. 41–43].

25 Public buildings for laundries and dryers were designed in this period.



75. Service building at 8–9 Szewska Street (2019); photo: E.G.

The design was not implemented, and the area was used as an above-ground car park. Only by the end of the 1990s had the impressive Howell Complex department store building by Tadeusz Sawa-Borysławski been built on the plot. In 2016 and 2017, it was rebuilt into the Magdalena business center, designed by Tomasz Marhall. The building has simple façades with vertical divisions; it is crowned with a wide bay window from the Szewska Street.

4.5 Conservation designs

During his employment in the Wrocław branch of Miastoprojekt, Edmund Małachowicz continued work on the Bernardine monastery, which began at the PP PKZ in 1956 at the St Bernard's Church, and completed the second design for reconstruction and adaptation of the Hatzfeld Palace to the seat of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) – but it has not been completed.

In these conservation studies, the problem of juxtaposing contemporary architectural forms with the remains of historical buildings comes to the fore. Rejection of socialist realism doctrine in 1956 caused the rebuilding of the old

town complexes in their former shape to be abandoned. Buildings that were very different from their historical surroundings in spatial planning, form, and technology used appeared in place of the old bourgeois tenement houses. Edmund Małachowicz introduced a similar principle of contrast to the conservation practice, first in the design for the reconstruction of the Hatzfeld Palace and then in the Bernardine monastery. In the case of both objects, he decided to juxtapose historical and neomodernist forms experimentally, which proved to be a pioneering solution on a global scale [38, pp. 7–18].

4.5.1 Former Bernardine monastery, 5 Bernardyńska Street (1961–1965) – eastern wing reconstruction designs for the Museum of Architecture (phase two)

In 1962, the three wings of the monastery's quadrangle reached a closed, unfinished state. The ceilings were being installed in the church part and the window woodwork was being made[26]. The eastern wing was still subject to design studies. Edmund Małachowicz was asked to present an alternative solution (in relation to the design still made in the PP PKZ) for the eastern part of the rebuilt monastery. The optional solution assumed lowering the wing by one storey covered with a gable roof[27]. From the side of the garth, the wall was to be finished with brick. The external elevation was designed in a contemporary form, with larger glazings and divided panes of various shapes resembling stained glass[28]. Here, the wall was to be finished with stone. Two oblong dormers were designed in the attic. On 11 May 1962, both solutions were submitted for approval at a meeting of the Conservation Board [205] – a variant with two storeys was adopted, only the roof had to be changed from sloping to flat in the outer part.

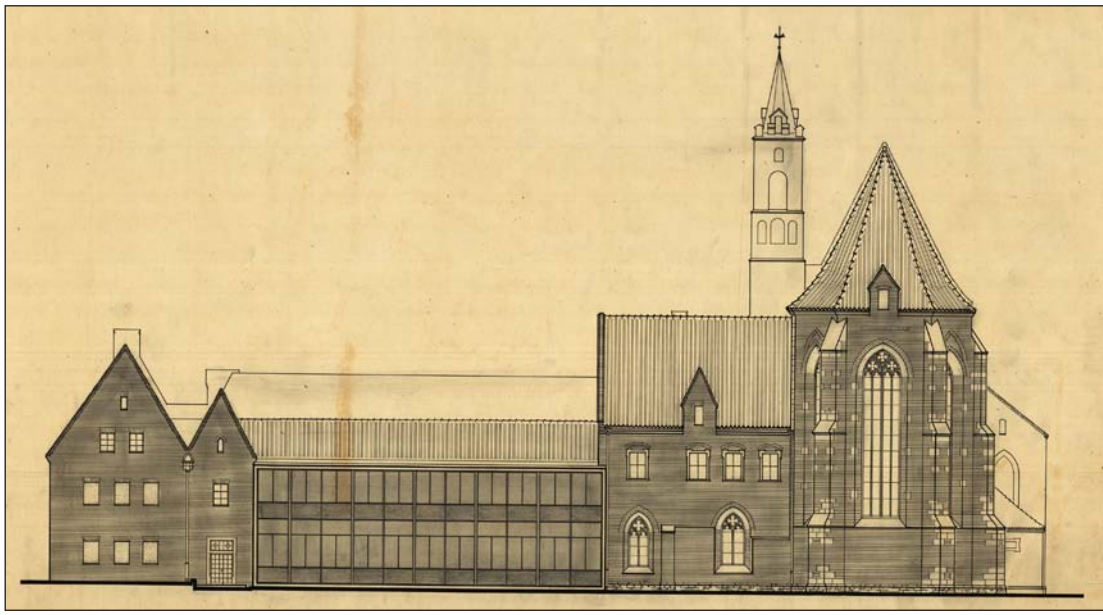
In December 1962, the design of the east wing in its approved shape was completed and submitted for implementation[29]. The ground floor was designated for a temporary exhibition hall. Office rooms, studios, and sanitation facilities were located on the first floor. The existing brick foundations were used. The front wall of the eastern wing was a reinforced concrete skeleton of 20 × 25 cm. A solid brick wall and aerated concrete side walls were designed from the courtyard side. The partition walls were to be made of hollow brick, except for a two-storey glass wall separating the hall from the southern wing. Thanks to the use of relatively thin steel profiles, it gave the impression of an unusual lightness. The ceilings above the exhibition hall were designed in Ackerman's technology, while the ogival groin vault was left above the cloister. From the side of the courtyard, the sloping roof had a structure made of a wooden rafter framing covered with Roman tiles. The attic ceiling (of Ackerman type) concurrently served as the flat

26 Based on [203].

27 Based on [203].

28 The use of the glass façade was repeated (1966–1969) when the House of the Maidens of Trzebnica was adapted for a gallery designed by H. Dziurla.

29 Based on [203].



76. Eastern façade of the Bernardine monastery; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

roof over the rest of the building. It was insulated with a layer of slag and soft fibreboard, and the whole thing was covered with roofing paper on an adhesive layer. The stairs were designed as poured reinforced concrete, finished with terrazzo (except for the first three steps of the ground floor, which were to have a marble lining). The floor in the rooms of the first floor was made of oak staves. The interiors were finished with lime plaster painted in light colours. Glazed dadoes up to a height of 1.5 m were designed in the sanitation facilities. Noteworthy is the design of windows overlooking the courtyard – their framing made of iron, glazed with a single glass on a hardwood slat. The front elevation was planned in the form of a light curtain wall on a substructure made of iron, glazed with Termoplex panels, with window surfaces lined with black opaque glass based on a granite plinth. The pillar verticals were enclosed with iron profiles. The courtyard walls were designed to have a raw brick face. The flashing and gutters were to be made of copper-plated zinc sheets.

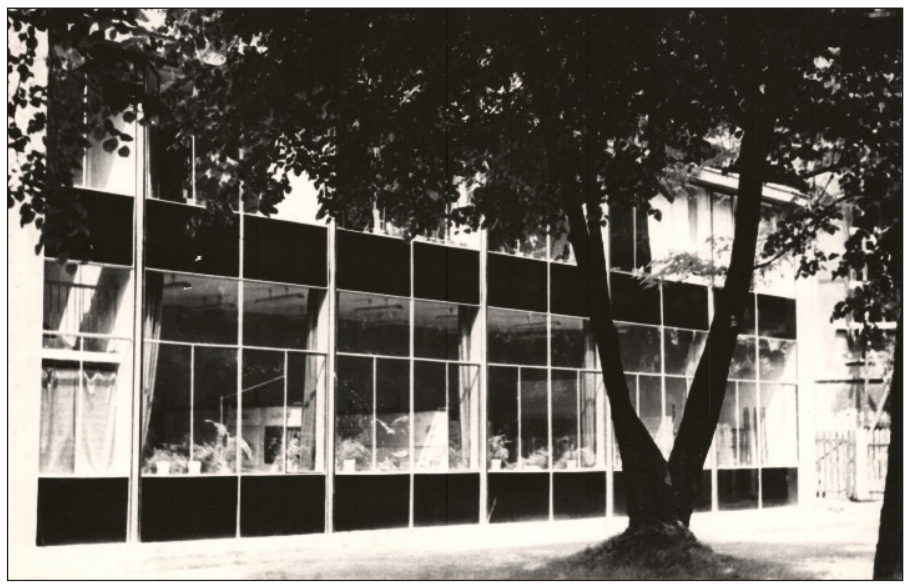
The second element of contemporary form, perfectly designed by Edmund Małachowicz, was a completely glazed partition wall in the main hall of the museum. Its construction was based on relatively thin steel profiles, similar to those used in the elevation of the east wing. It separated the two-storey exhibition hall from the rest of the foyer, and, thanks to its total transparency, it gave the effect of intermingling the exhibition space with the entrance[30].

In the monastery, an interesting way of space heating was used, based on the ventilation with warm air blown in through the gaps under the windowsills, with distribution channels under the floor. The medieval texture and polychromy of the vaults and walls were reconstructed in places. The main entrance to the

30 At the beginning of the 21st century, the wall was removed and replaced by a glass structure with more coarse supporting profiles designed by P. Zybura.

77. Museum of Architecture: glass wall of the hall (the 1980s) – on the left

78. Bernardine monastery, eastern façade (the 1970s) – at the bottom; from the archives of the Małachowicz family



museum was supposed to be formed by a Renaissance portal from the 16th century moved from a demolished building on Igielna Street – treated here as a museum exhibit as well.

In 1965 the object was conditionally put into use; the finishing works lasted until 1967[31]. The Museum of Architecture and Reconstruction (this was the full name of the building) was officially established on 1 January 1965 by a resolution of the PRN of the City of Wrocław and was a branch of the Museum of the City of Wrocław. In 1971, it obtained the status of an independent institution called the Museum of Architecture[32]. It has been performing its

31 Based on [203].

32 By [24, p. 147].

79. East wing of the former post-Bernardine monastery, external façade (2015); photo: E.G.

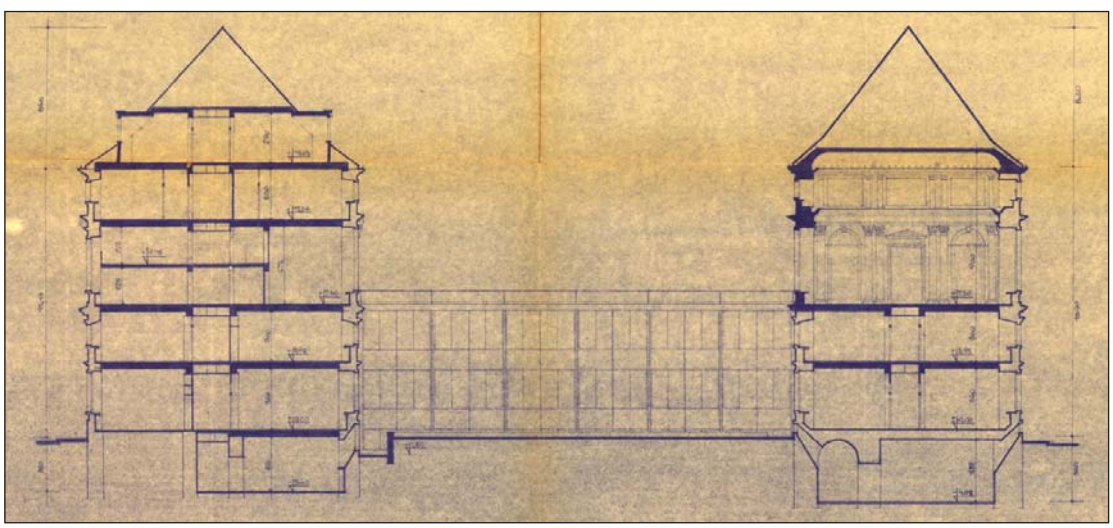
function until today – it remains the only institution of its kind in Poland. The complex is a unique conservation project from that period in the work of Edmund Małachowicz and is an extremely important element of his overall architectural output.

80. View of the inner courtyard of the Museum of Architecture, east wing on the left (2013); photo: E.G.

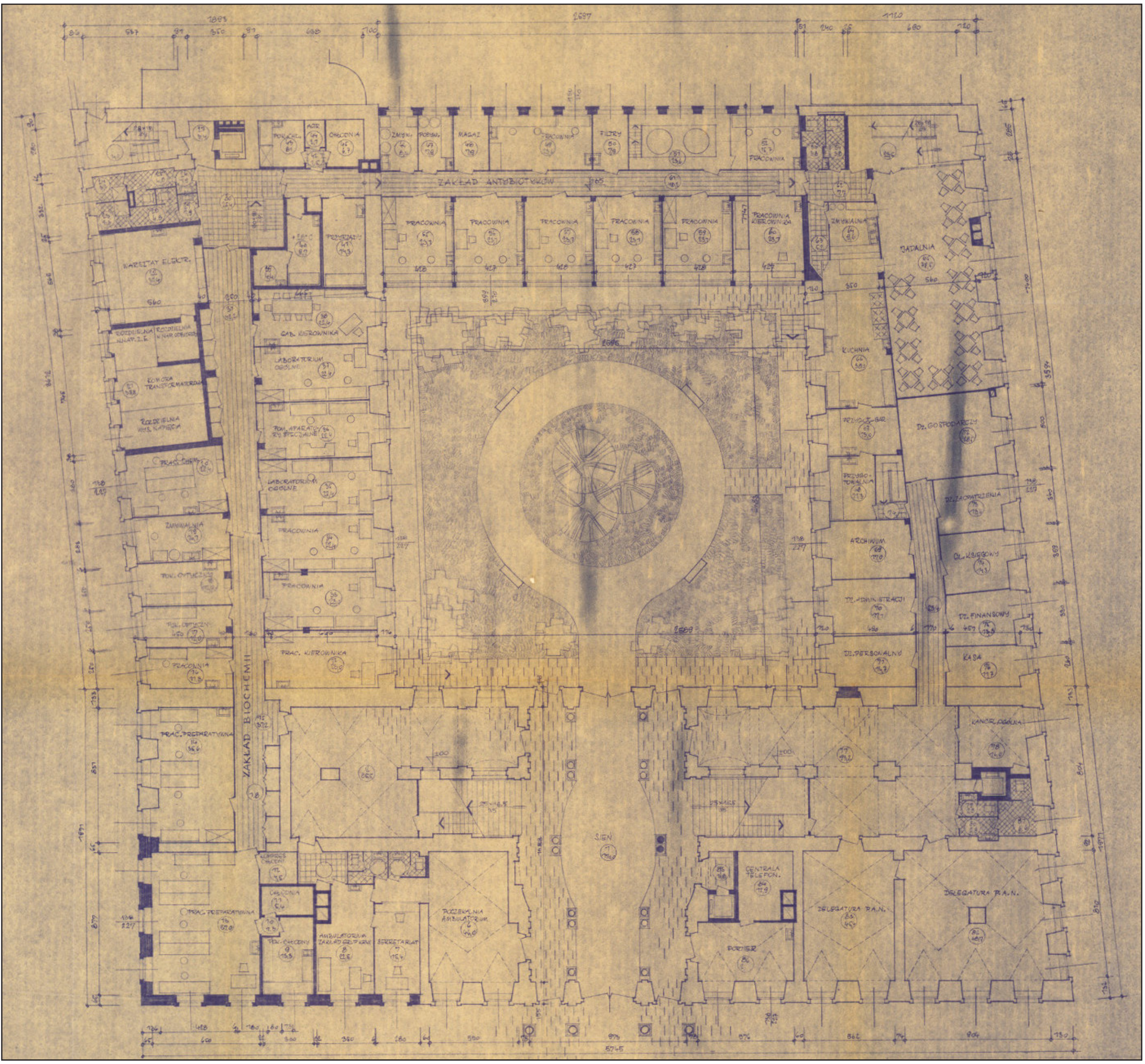
4.5.2 Former Hatzfeld palace, 31/32 Wita Stwosza Street (1962) – design for reconstruction and adaptation to the seat of the Polish Academy of Sciences (phase two)

The 1956 palace reconstruction design including the reconstruction of the historical façades and the restoration of the former surface and cubature, had not been implemented. Left unprotected, the crown of the walls became subject to gradual weathering, so it was necessary to keep removing loose bricks so that they did not pose a threat to passers-by. Another design for the adaptation of the palace was created in 1962, and its author was also Edmund Małachowicz. The building was designated as the seat of the Ludwik Hirszfeld Institute of Immunology and Experimental Therapy of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

The main design assumption was to restore the form predating the building's destruction in terms of the number of storeys, roof shape, and detail. It was planned to apply this principle to all elevations forming the frontages of Wita Stwosza, Krowia, and św. Wita streets. The northern wing of the palace closing the inner courtyard was designed in contemporary forms resembling the eastern part of the Architecture Museum. Edmund Małachowicz also postulated the reconstruction of some interiors, including the entrance hall, two vestibules, the hallway, and the staircase, as their reconstruction was necessary to maintain the character of the building [213]. In the former ballroom, located on the ground floor of the building, he planned an assembly hall. In addition, the reconstructed palace was to house research facilities (e.g., genetics, bacteriology, biophysics) as well as studios, a menagerie for local use, a canteen, and offices for administration employees. The total usable area was estimated at 9178 m^2. All elegant rooms were located at the front; the remaining wings were used by research institutes. In both corners of the northern wing, there were staircases



81. Cross-section of the north wing of the Institute of Immunology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the former Hatzfeld Palace (1962); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

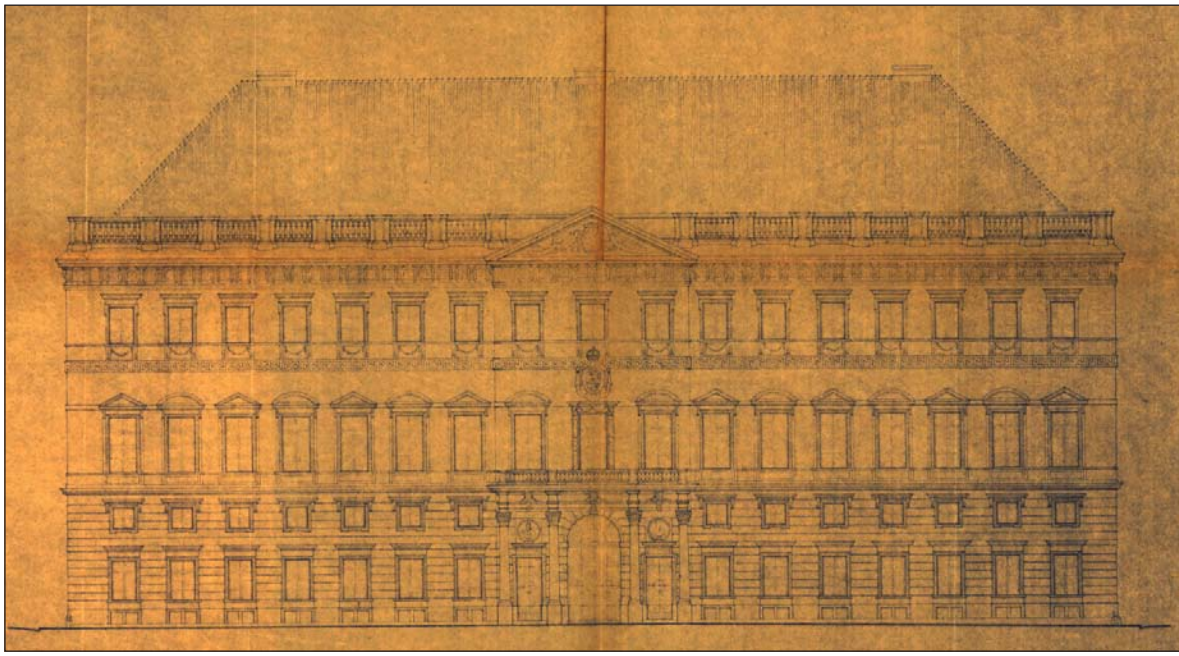


with a passenger lift on the west side. The inner courtyard was to serve as ornamental greenery.

The construction of external walls was to be based on preserved fragments of the wall supplemented with new bricks. A reinforced concrete frame structure was introduced in the eastern, western, and northern wings. The partition walls were designed as cavity brick or glass fittings. In the reconstructed rooms, the vaults were planned to be restored, while in the remaining part, Ackerman ceilings were to be used.

In the laboratory and administrative part, the walls mainly had a plaster finish, as well as glazed dadoes up to a height of 1.5 m. Oak stave floors were designed in the office part, vinyl floors in workshops and utility rooms, terracotta in chemical rooms, and terrazzo in hygiene and sanitation facilities. In the recon-

82. Floor plan of the Institute of Immunology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the former Hatzfeld Palace (1962); from the archives of the Małachowicz family



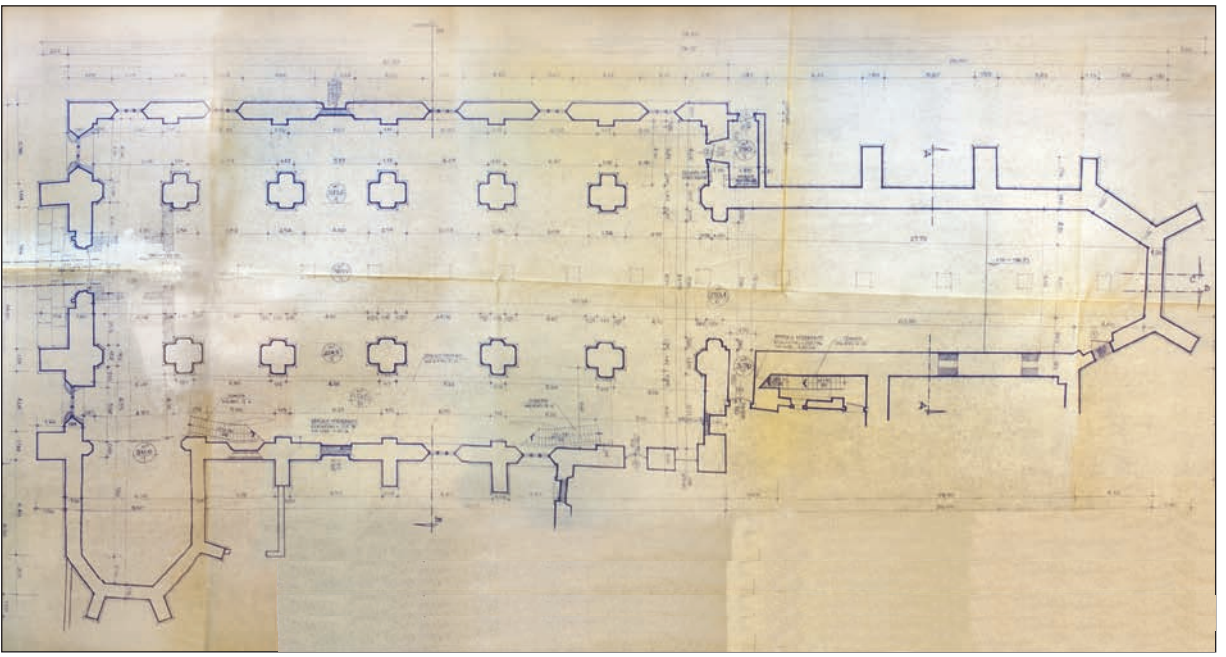
83. Front elevation (from the side of Wita Stwosza Street) of the Institute of Immunology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the former Hatzfeld Palace (1962); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

structed historical interiors, more noble materials such as gypsum stuccowork, marble floors, and wrought iron balustrades were planned. The building was to be equipped with the necessary laboratory equipment and utilities. Internal thermal insulation (made of cork panels fixed to the brick wall) was designed only in rooms intended for incubators or freezers.

The Wrocław Presidium of the National Council approved the design, but this was not tantamount to the transfer of appropriate funds needed for the project. The only money obtained corresponded to 23% of the calculated costs (cost estimate value) and was intended for rubble removal [204, p. 7]. This design variant of the monument development has not been implemented either.

4.5.3 Former church of St Bernard of Siena, 7 Bernardyńska Street (1963–1974) – design for reconstruction and adaptation to the Museum of Architecture (phase three)

Preparatory works for the reconstruction started in 1963 with architectural inventory and preliminary design for adaptation of St Bernard's Church. In 1964 Edmund Małachowicz completed the technical design. The reconstruction concept adopted provided for the maximum possible restoration of the original appearance of the Gothic external and internal architecture of the building by removing most of the alterations from the years 1898–1901 and the simplest adaptation of the interior for exhibition purposes. After the completion of the works, the future user, i.e., the Museum of Architecture, was to receive 1291.70 m2 of usable area and 23,956 m^3 of cubature [187].



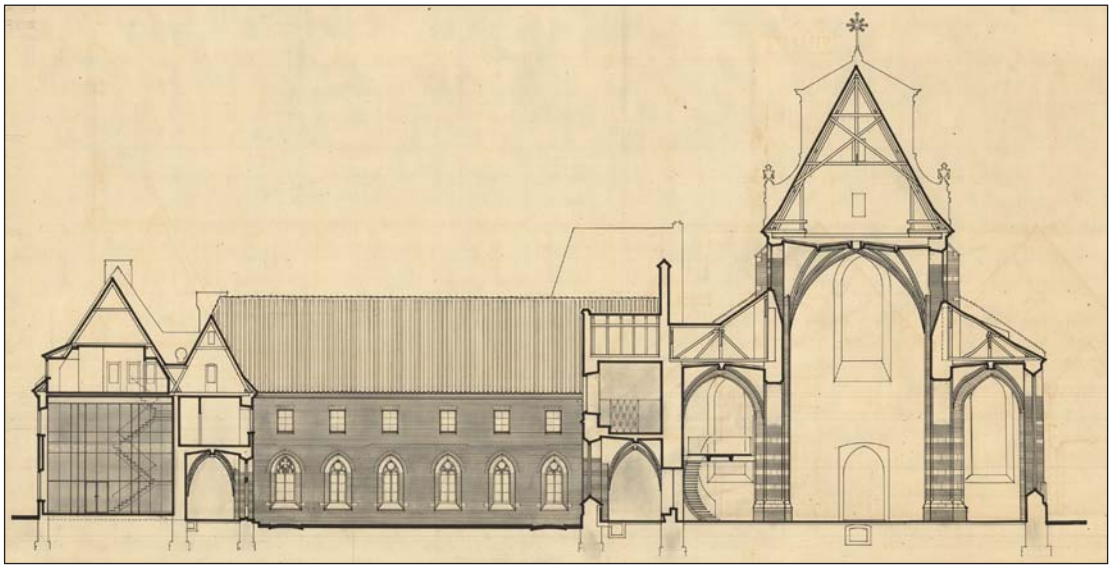
84. Planned ground plan of St. Bernard Church (1964) [187]

The interior of the church and the monastery was to constitute a functional whole. The western portal was planned as an emergency exit, at the same time, used to bring in large exhibits. The exhibition area was enlarged by designing a matroneum in the southern aisle[33]. The walls and vault above the gallery were left in a damaged state – they could serve as a background for the exhibition about the destruction of the city. In the former northern vestibule, there was a small storeroom and a lighting dashboard. The tower with floor platforms connected by a ladder staircase was accessible from the monastery.

The existing foundations, stone footings and brick foundation walls were retained. The brick walls of the church were cleaned of plaster and complemented by veneering with a Gothic layout following the existing walls. Local repairs of the wall surface were to be made of bricks of identical format using demolition bricks in 50%. The ceiling in the matroneum of the side aisle was designed in the form of a reinforced concrete slab on girders, surface-painted with lime milk. The stairs leading to the mezzanine created in this way were to have a cantilevered, reinforced concrete structure. In the tower, instead of ceilings, wooden platforms with wooden ladder stairs were designed (except for the last run and the landing made of reinforced concrete). The cavities in the vaults were supplemented with solid brick. It was necessary to design partial reinforcement utilizing a 5 cm thick concrete mantle. Ribs were to be made of brick fittings on cement mortar or in the absence of a suitable material, of aerated concrete. Steel windows were planned in the nave, and the remainder was to be made of stone.

The wooden roof structure was to be covered with a Monk and Nun tile. The church floor was to be made of granite slabs, while the newly designed matrone-

33 In later years (after 1974), instead of the designed gallery with a reinforced concrete structure in the southern nave, iron galleries were built in both naves, and the interior of the presbytery was divided into two floors (with a warehouse on the ground floor) [98, p. 50].



85. Cross-section through the complex of the former Bernardine monastery, on the left, a two-storey glass wall of the hall is visible; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

um was planned to be finished with cement plaster. In the vestibule and the chancel, doors made of raw hardwood painted with clear varnish were used. The entrance to the church from the monastery was made possible through two openings – entrance and exit, closed with a glass door of steel construction. The door's transom and the third opening were designed with mirror glass embedded directly in the opening.

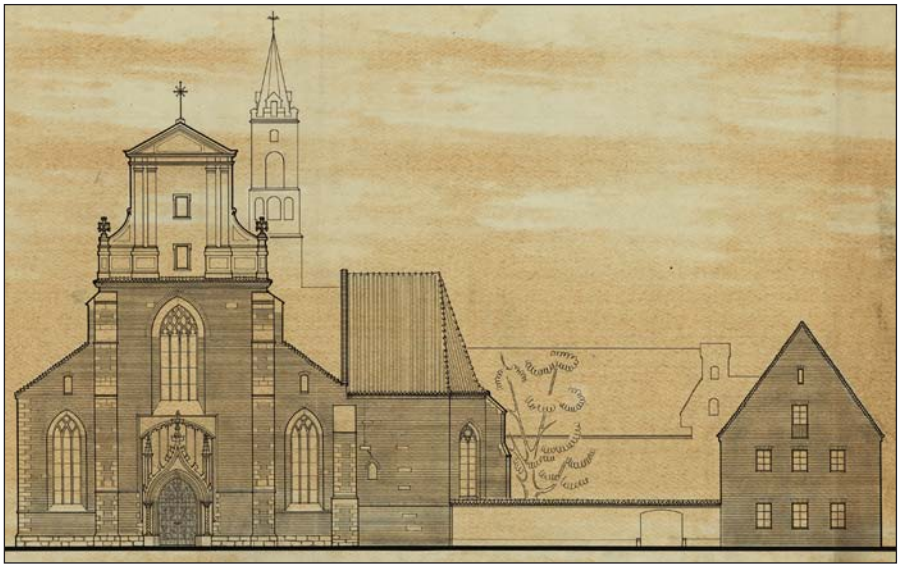
In order to warm the historical interior, the least visible method was chosen – a system consisting of hot water pipes, laid under the floor, and covered with concrete was used. It was also necessary to equip the church with a fire protection system. It was proposed to provide lighting in the form of chandeliers and sconces, whereas a fluorescent light was planned on the wall set-back in the chancel.

The remains of the Gothic gable in the western façade did not allow for the reconstruction of its form. Therefore, the Baroque gable was restored, while the plaster was removed from the rest of the façade. The aisle finials from 1898–1901 were removed, the cat cornice tip was restored and the attic window was reduced following the preserved iconography[34]. Both side portals inserted without historical justification were removed and the original shape of the windows with simplified forms of tracery was recreated.

A gate with a wicket and 19th-century neo-Gothic fittings remaining at the Conservator's disposal was placed in the recess of the portal. Tracery reconstructions were made based on inventory measurements of the building from before its destruction.

The remaining elevations were uncovered from the remains of the plaster. The original height of window openings was marked in the eastern elevation, and an additional door opening was made at the sacristy, necessary for practical reasons. From the north, stairs with a church porch were dismantled. The division of windows matching the former matroneums was eliminated, and new – sim-

34 The reconstruction was prepared based on a Mützel drawing from 1853, Loeillett lithography from the end of the 19th century, drawing by Wenher from 1763 [187, p. 5].



86. West elevation of the former Bernardine monastery; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

plified forms of tracery were designed. The stone masonry in the southern aisle retained its pre-war form due to the designed matroneum in the interior. The entrance portal was also bricked up, but a recess was left. A neo-Gothic church porch was demolished. In the nave, the ironwork was left unchanged due to the lack of iconographic data.

It was decided to reconstruct the medieval texture and polychrome[35] in places where their existence was beyond doubt, and to preserve and display the surviving authentic parts.

The entrance to the tower leading through the staircase in the single pillar hall was left unchanged. The openings of the top floor and the helmet were reconstructed according to the pre-war condition. In the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Jan Kapistran, the remains of wall paintings were uncovered and preserved.

Work on the reconstruction of the church was completed in 1974 – since then, it has been an integral part of the Museum of Architecture. Edmund Małachowicz supervised the works until they were completed, no longer as an employee of Miastoprojekt Wrocław, but as the Provincial Conservator of the City of Wrocław.

Summary

Archival documentation of designs with contemporary forms is not complete. Unfortunately, some of the studies prepared by the Professor have not survived. These include designs of buildings in 1–14 Krawiecka Street. The years of Edmund Małachowicz's work in the Wrocław branch of Miastoprojekt included a period of architects' search for a way to incorporate international style forms into Old Town buildings. The typification of that time, including the unification of

35 Ribs of vaults in brick colour, vault fields covered with thin, whitewashed plaster.

87. Façade of the church of St Bernard (2014); photo: E.G.

dimensions and repeatability of elements, as well as poor quality of craft, hampered the harmonious integration of new objects into the historical complex. The treatments used on the façades, such as vertical steps, the rhythm of the loggia, attempts to diversify the texture (e.g., plinths with pebbles pressed manually into the mortar) were supposed to give even a semblance of individuality to the monolithic blocks. Years later, Edmund Małachowicz believed that such architecture in the old town complex turned out to be quite poor and alluvial, after a period of freshness and satisfaction with the fact that it was created, and that it evokes the greatest reservations in terms of materials and technology used [92, p. 253].

A conscious and purposeful introduction of modern forms and materials into the historical fabric can also be observed in the case of the Hatzfeld Palace reconstruction design and the Architecture Museum. The newly designed elements were supposed to differ slightly from the authentic ones thanks to the use of simplified forms and neutral materials, such as e.g., keystones or plastered elevation of the eastern wing of the monastery. A balance between the part preserved and the part added was sought so that the perception of the whole concept could give the impression of harmony.

Continued reconstruction in the 1960s, carried out during the period when Edmund Małachowicz worked at Miastoprojekt, was marked by a desire to expose the tragic history of the object – hence the decision to leave some of its parts in a damaged condition. The traces of the 19th-century restoration, which was conducted in the spirit of romantic historicism, were removed. The completed elevation of the eastern wing of the monastery and the glass wall separating the hall from the southern wing were the first combination of the modernist form with the historical part (or a stylized one) in post-war Wrocław. At that time, it was an extremely bold solution. The material contrast used here was supposed to emphasize the adjacent historical part consciously[36].

The final effect of the reconstruction was a combination of many conservation theories. What took place was not only the restoration and exposition of authentic elements but also the integration of the ensemble through the creation of new elements, both reflecting the prototype and constituting its simplified form.

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36 The eastern part of the medieval monastery was demolished as early as in the 19th century, so it is also possible to interpret it in such a way that the conservation procedure used was to draw attention to this event.

5 Designs prepared while performing the function of the Conservator of the city of Wrocław in the Department of Culture of the Presidium of the National Council of the City of Wrocław

1965–1972

Edmund Małachowicz took up the post of the Conservator of the City of Wrocław on 1 November 1965, thus becoming the head of the five-person Historical Monuments Conservation Branch at the Department of Culture of the Presidium of the National Council of the City of Wrocław[1]. The scope of his duties included: supervising the subordinate museums and setting the directions of their operation, issuing opinions on design documents and cost estimates of construction works related to the conservation and adaptation of historical buildings, and ensuring the continuation of works already commenced based on a written permit issued by an architect from the relevant District National Council [208]. The municipal Conservator cooperated in the development of design and historical documentation, as well as research work on monuments with, among others, state authorities, e.g., the Faculty of Architecture, Urban Planning and Construction Supervision, PP PKZ and universities. To carry out its tasks, the office received funding from the so-called central budget (adopted by the Council of Ministers) and the local budget (determined by the relevant Presidium of the National Council) [31]. The main principles of conservation policy for individual provinces and priorities for action were determined in Warsaw, often not knowing the specificity of the area and the actual needs, so "practically every [...] conservator was condemned to full or almost full responsibility and independence" [119, p. 89].

These were the years when arbitrary demolition and pulling down of historical buildings took place. It would often be left to chance whether a conservator had managed to arrive in time before a monument was destroyed. Often the factor determining the survival of an object was an immediate preparation of design documents, finding an occupier, and quick cost estimation of works.

1 The Culture Department consisted of four branches: The Department of Cultural and Educational Work and Bibliography, Artistic Institutions and Cinematography, General Administration and Economics, and the Department of the Conservator. The latter's team consisted of Krystyna Pilch (deputy and conservator of movable monuments), Alina Michalik (clerk for administrative and economic affairs), Adolf Karnowski (construction affairs), Kazimierz Bochenek (sculptor-restorer) [204, p. 3].

In the PKZ workshop, due to the limited number of employees, it was not always possible to complete the work on time. For this reason, and to accelerate the procedures, Edmund Małachowicz personally developed designs for the conservation and adaptation of Wroclaw's monuments after office hours.

5.1 Former Hatzfeld Palace, 31/32 Wita Stwosza St (1966–1972) – design for reconstruction and adaptation of the remains of the building for a contemporary art gallery (phase three)

The reconstruction of the Hatzfelds' Palace in the shape predating its destruction, planned in the 1950s, had not been undertaken. The rubble removal and segregation of the historic stonemasonry took place until the early 1960s. In 1964, the northern and western wings were demolished. The next elements of the palace gradually disappeared from the city landscape. When it came to the demolition of the historic entrance portico, Edmund Małachowicz made another attempt to save the building from complete demolition.

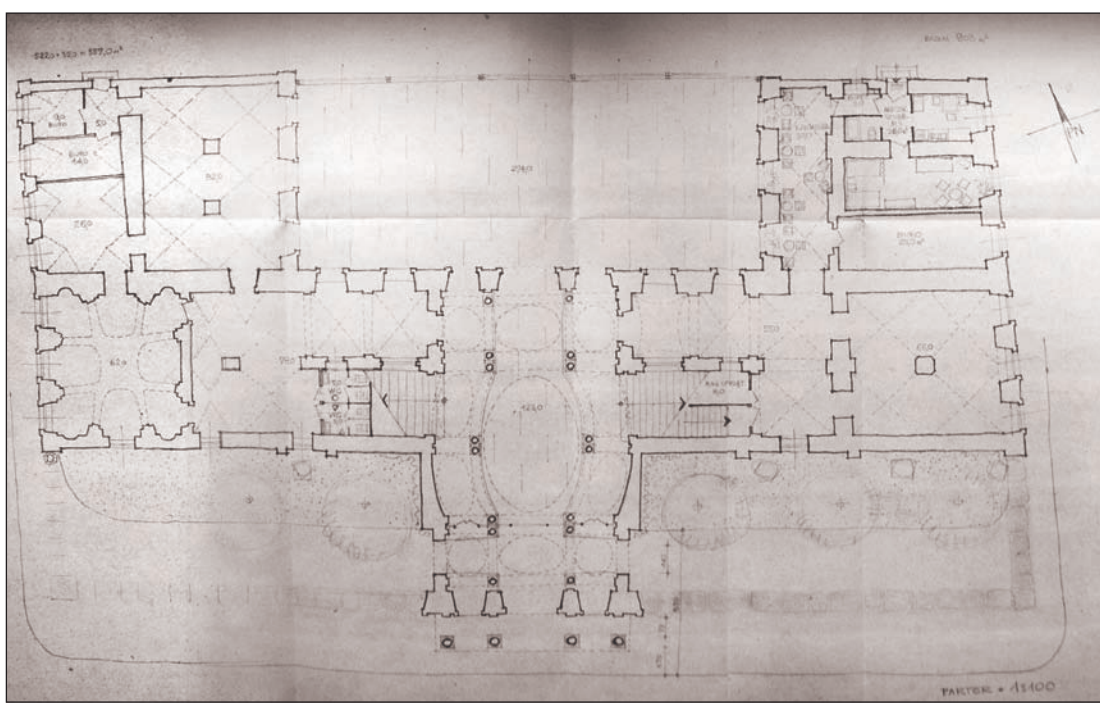
88. Hatzfeld Palace (1966) [236, access: March 2019]

In January 1966, a sketch design was created to develop the remains of the palace into a gallery of contemporary art. The investment was to be financed from the local budget of the Wroclaw City Conservator [203]. In the new design, great emphasis was placed on the cost-effectiveness of the adopted solutions. The cubic capacity was almost three times reduced in relation to the 1956 design. A cost estimate was presented, in which the cost of reconstruction was estimated at 2,235,000 PLN, and the cost of demolition of such cubic capacity and disassembly of historical elements at 600,000 PLN [194][2]. On this basis, Edmund Małachowicz demonstrated that demolishing the building represented a significant percentage of the costs in relation to reconstruction and adaptation, and the loss due to the palace's demolition would be irretrievable, both for cultural and utilitarian reasons. This became an argument for further action.

The new architectural concept assumed the reconstruction and adaptation of the part of the ground floor and mezzanine involving the better preserved, vaulted interiors of the rear bay of the main building, the hallway, and a part of the courtyard [194]. The portico was preserved, but the front part of the building was shortened by one bay – a green strip was designed there. Instead of a gable roof covering the whole building, a flat roof obscured from the outside with an attic wall was planned[3]. The hall was reduced by one span and separated by a glazed steel wall from the main entrance. A part of the courtyard was turned into an exhibition room – covered and closed from the north by a glass wall of steel construction. The elevations (north and south) and sidewalls of the hallway were to be covered with a single rough plaster coating with simple divisions reproducing

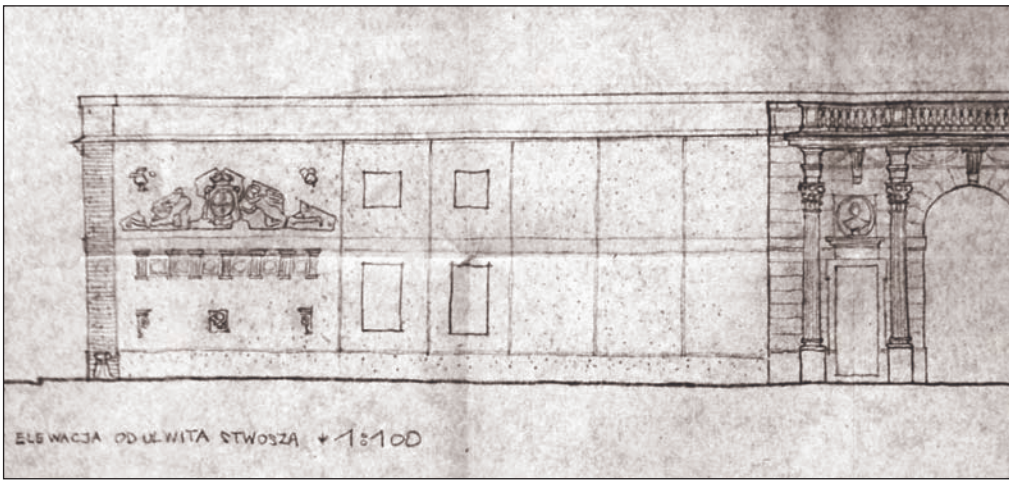
> Those were the times when there was still a little bit of that cowboy-like atmosphere. [...] When I became a conservator, the same day, I got a call that Art Nouveau railings were being destroyed at the station. I came, but some were already destroyed. The rest is forbidden. [...] [225].

89. Designed ground floor plan of the former Hatzfeld Palace (1966) [197]



2 In 1966, the average salary in Poland at that time was 23,208 PLN per year [239].

3 This was most likely due to difficulties in accessing building materials such as tiles.



[...] The workers came to me and asked where to assemble these columns from Wita Stwosza St [...] [216].

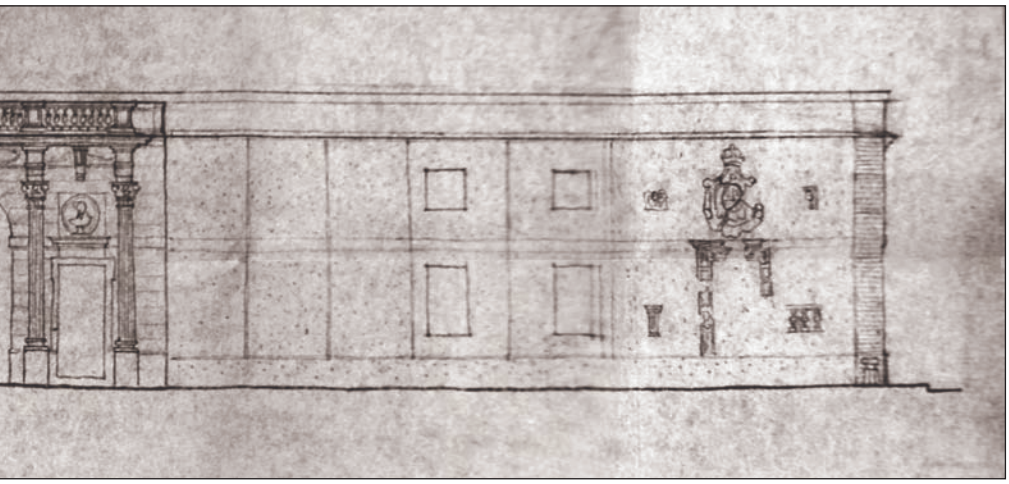
the old rhythm of window openings[4]. The remains of the historic stonemasonry, coming mainly from the former front facade of the palace, were to be embedded in the front elevation. The stuccowork was planned to be reconstructed only in the hallway; the remaining rooms were to receive a smooth plaster coating. On the southern side, behind the building, a green belt was designed, and on the front, the old wall layout was to be marked in the pavement (by using a floor of a different colour or texture). Side elevations up to the height of the preserved walls were to be reintegrated thanks to plaster and missing stonemasonry supplementation. It was also planned to complete and partially reconstruct the balustrade above the entrance portico. It was considered necessary to close the northern palace courtyard with a fourth wing, which was supposed to serve as a peculiar background for the palace. The Art Gallery of the Museum of the City of Wrocław was to become the occupier of the ground floor and the western part of the first floor[5]. The rest of the floor was planned to be given to the Teatr 13 Rzędów (Theatre of 13 Rows).

Various construction and material solutions were introduced. In the old part, foundations made of stone and brick were kept. Some of the old walls were designed to be undercut and insulated with two layers of tar paper on an adhesive layer, and some to be dried with adjacent covered ventilation ducts 0.5 m wide and 1.2 m deep (or optionally with Knappe siphons). Over the ground floor, groin and lunette barrel brick vaults were kept, with cavities filled in. The foundations of the new walls were designed to be poured gravel concrete. The courtyard's glazing was planned based on a steel frame with aluminum shafts, filled with 6 mm thick transparent panes.

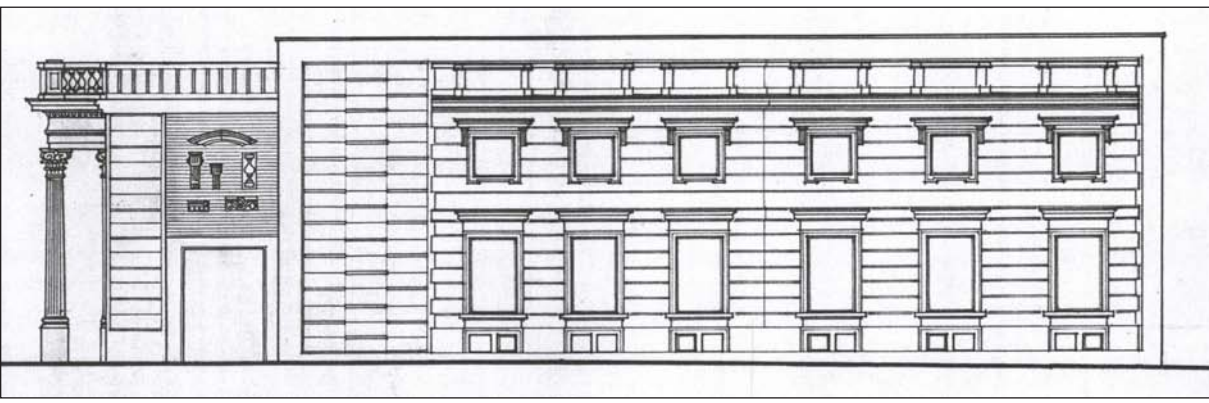
The adopted ceiling structure above the first floor was prefabricated technology (floor type DZ), steel beams were provided above the exhibition hall. The

4 The front solution was developed in two variants. The role of the façade was to be played by the existing wall, formerly dividing the front part into two tracts. The authentic surviving remnants of the historic stonemasonry were to be laid in it. In the first variant, it was planned to plaster the whole wall and introduce a division referring to the old rhythm of the front elevation windows. In the second variant – to unveil the former layout of the vaulted arches and internal walls of the palace.

5 The design for the development of the east wing was made in two versions. In the first one, office rooms were planned, in the second one – small catering.



90. Design of the front of the Hatzfeld Palace (1966) [197]



91. Designed elevation from św. Wita Street (1969); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

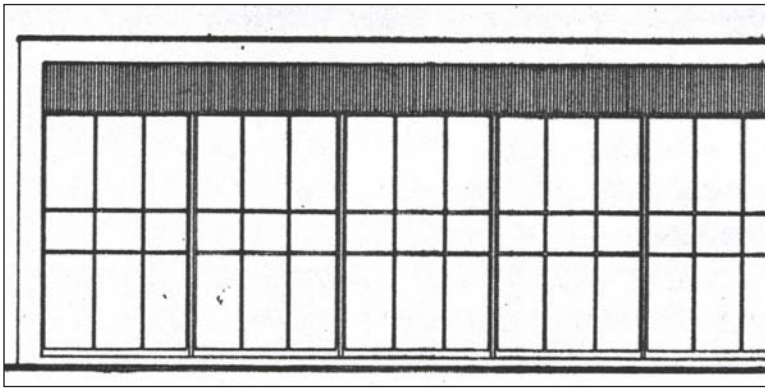
partition walls were to be made of hollow brick. The slope of the flat roof was formed from a slag mound and covered with a double tar paper on an adhesive layer. A simple attic running around the whole building was also designed.

The interiors were to be plastered and painted with light-coloured lime paint, and the ceilings, cornices, and vaults with white lime milk. The walls in the sanitary facilities up to a height of 1.50 m were planned to be glazed. There was terrazzo on the floors; floors in the office rooms and corridors were to be finished with oak staves. Since an authentic mosaic and granite slabs were preserved in the hallway on the first floor, the designer wanted to expose them. They were matched by marble stair treads measuring 30 × 30 × 4 cm, with an 8 cm high socle. Terrazzo in white cement was allowed as an alternative. The woodwork was to be painted with oil paint (dark on the outside). The building was equipped with water, sewage, gas, and electrical installations.

Until the facility was connected to the district heating network, the heating had been provided by the boiler room located in the building[6]. It was decided

6 The letter of 31 October 1966 issued by Wrocławskie Zjednoczenie Przedsiebiorstwo Gospodarki Komunalnej contained information about the possibility of connecting to the heating network only after 1971, due to the heat deficit in 1966–1970 [197].

92. The front design of the Hatzfeld Palace (1969); from the archives of the Małachowicz family



93. Hatzfeld Palace (1989); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

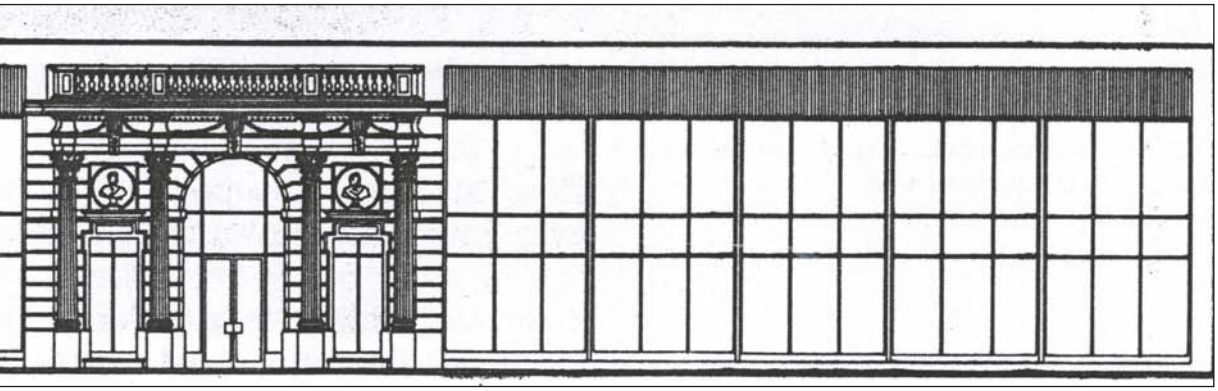
[...] They wanted to demolish the Hatzfeld Palace completely. I saved it, and it stands to this day [...] [225].

that, wherever possible, prefabricated technology had to be used to reduce reconstruction costs.

In 1967, security and preparatory works were commenced, the construction site was fenced and arranged, debris removal and demolition began, and the first bricklaying works were undertaken. The design was financed from the local budget of the Conservator of the City of Wrocław [203]. In 1968, some of the security and preparatory works continued. However, implementation did not go according to plan. There were delays – under the pretext of a lack of documentation, the contractor interrupted the works at 30%.

A year later, another version of the documentation was prepared – a technical-construction design, according to which a fundamental change in the object's form was planned[7]. At this stage, the northern wing as the planned background for the palace was abandoned. The location of the exhibition halls was changed, and the former palace courtyard was not turned into an exhibition

7 The Design Services Team at the Department of Spatial Planning and Architecture of PDRN Wrocław Old Town developed the design (5 December 1969) – E. Małachowicz, S. Kuliński.



94. Hatzfeld Palace (2011); photo: E.G.

space. Instead of the previously designed green belt, the rooms at the front were enlarged[8].

This change influenced the modification of the shape of the southern façade, which was now a steel structure glass wall across the width of the building. The exhibition space of the former relics of the palace was thus significantly reduced. The reconstruction and adaptation of the palace were completed in 1972.

The building has been used as a gallery ever since and is one of the most recognizable places in Wrocław.

The design for rebuilding the Hatzfelds' palace, which was finally implemented, should be interpreted as a rescue operation aimed at saving at least fragments of the monument. The idea of exposing a partially destroyed stonemasonry on façades was a pioneering conservation solution in Wrocław. The palace thus became a testimony to the tragic history of the destruction of the city during World War II. It was basically conservative maintenance aimed at preserving the existing state [80, p. 84]. It should be remembered, however, that the original

8 Most likely because of pressure from the future palace occupier.

intention of the author was to rebuild the object in order to restore its historical shape. The building was complemented by architectural elements made of materials easily distinguishable from the authentic historical substance. The selection of functions turned out to be accurate, and the object still operates as the Avant-garde Gallery. However, the relocation of the exhibition hall from the north (by the first concept from 1966) to the south forced the user to use sunshades (2006) to protect the interior from overheating. The design of the external blinds, which was completed at that time, did not find approval in the eyes of Edmund Małachowicz – in his opinion, the façade took on a too industrial and banal appearance [216].

The current form of the palace does not close the path to a possible reconstruction of the object. For example, in 2007, The City Council of Wrocław started to work towards its complete reconstruction. The project was planned to be carried out in the years 2007–2009. However, the reconstruction did not take place.

5.2 St Clare's Mills, Słodowa Island and Bielarska Island (1966) – unrealized design for reconstruction and adaptation for the Ethnographic Museum (phase two)

Ambitious plans to rebuild the historic St Claire's Mills, presented as early as the 1950s, did not come to fruition. The condition of the buildings was deteriorating from year to year. Soon it became clear that this was the last moment when the survival of objects could still be ensured. In November 1966, Edmund Małachowicz, as the Conservator of the City of Wrocław, presented another version of the design for the preliminary development of St Clare's Mills for the Ethnographic Museum.

The design was a comprehensive urban-architectural concept, as it assumed not only the reconstruction of the buildings themselves but also the arrangement of an ethnographic park – an open-air museum on the Bielarska Island[9].

The design was based on a study from 1957 and 1958. The main designer was Edmund Małachowicz[10]. The occupier was to be the Ethnographic Branch

9 The main intention was to place wooden buildings and works of folk art on the island surrounded by green recreational areas. In the available archival materials the author of the book did not come across a detailed design specifying the number and type of these monuments or the manner of their arrangement. According to the information in the description of the conceptual design, such a study analyzing the impact on the island's silhouette and views of this complex was to constitute a separate part at a later date [191, p. 4].

10 The design team in the 1950s also included: J. Bachmiński, M. Czyżewska, M. Przyłęcki, J. Pudełko.

95. St Clare's Mills (1972); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

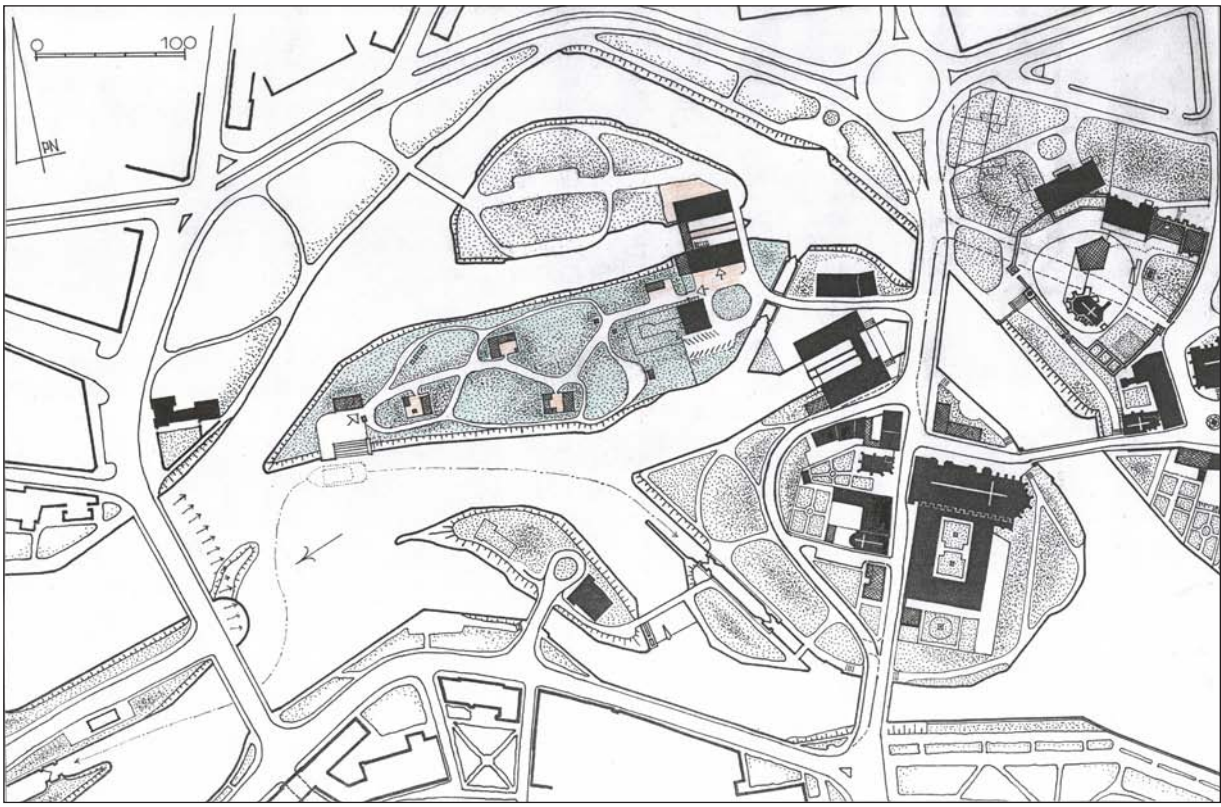
of the Silesian Museum in Wrocław, while the investor was to be the Culture Department of the Presidium of the Provincial National Council.

The design assumed the reconstruction of the external architecture of both mills according to the state from the end of the 18th century. It was proposed to remove all additions and alterations from the 19th and 20th centuries, including the side gables and mansard roof of Mill II, as well as external ladders and platforms. The study also included the renovation of the weir together with the bridge covering it, as well as the connection of both buildings with a catwalk located over the western part of the working channels. It was to serve both a bridging function, as well as refer to the buildings and connectors previously existing there visible on preserved iconographic sources[11]. The usable area of the buildings after reconstruction was to reach 2947 m^2 and the cubic capacity 12 470 m^3. The free area of the Bielarska Island designated for an ethnographic park was 1.05 ha (without the square, building, and slopes)[12].

The Słodowa Island, together with Mill I was to perform technical, economic, and administrative functions. A utility yard with a fuel warehouse was located here. On the ground floor of the building, a boiler room and other auxiliary

11 The elevations of the St Clare's Mills were prepared by E. Małachowicz based on materials from the Municipal Construction Archive and Endler's drawing from the first half of the 19th century. The mentioned materials were published in a book [96, p. 156, 158, 179].

12 Mill I – 1423 m^2 of usable area and 6200 m^3 of cubature, Mill II – 1480 m^2 and 6070 m^3, catwalk – 44 m^2 and 200 m^3 [191, p. 5, 6].



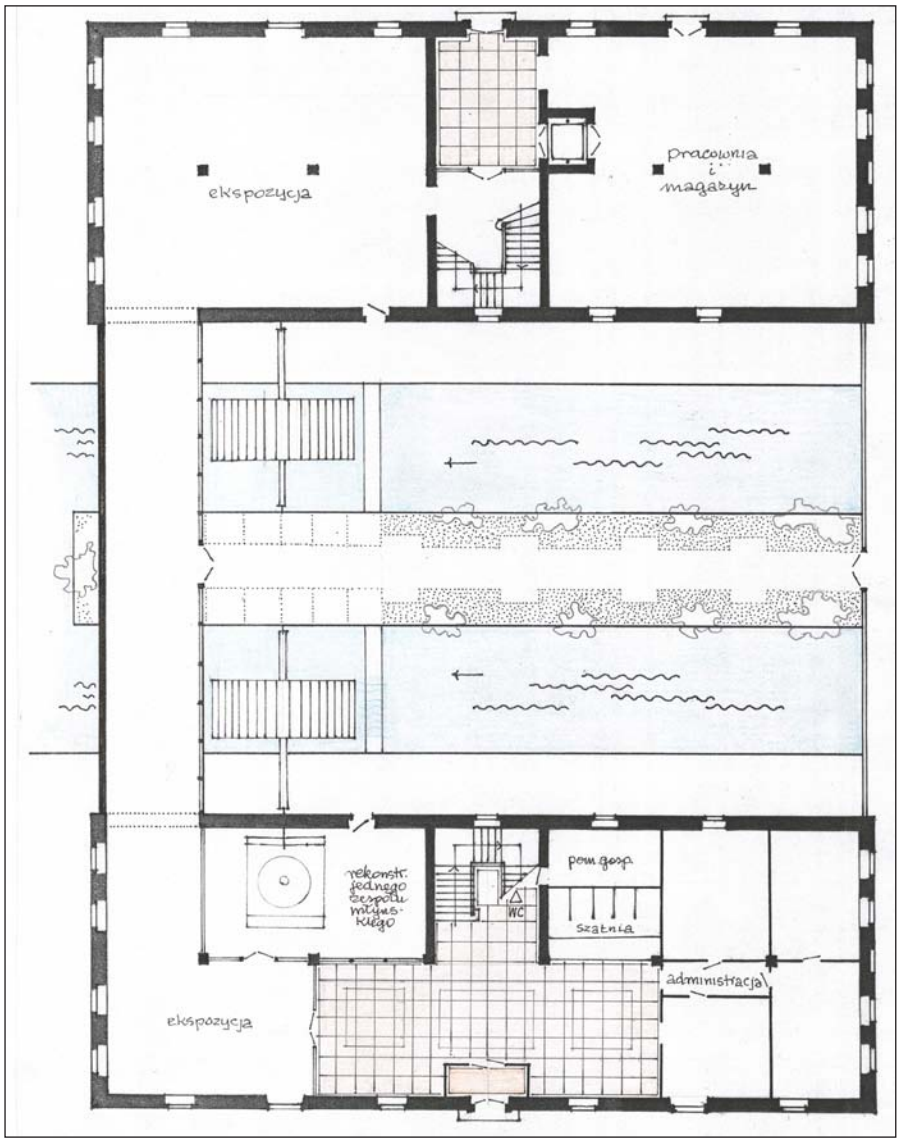
96. Open-air museum design, next to the planned Ethnographic Museum in the St Clare's Mills; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

rooms for the whole complex were planned[13]. At this level, apart from technical rooms, there were also maintenance workshops and studios accessible from the outside through separate entrances and connected to the higher storeys by a freight and passenger lift. A hall equipped with a cloakroom and toilets was also planned, with an entrance to the reading room on the 1st floor and a passage through a connector to the hall of Mill II. On the first floor, a photographic studio with the necessary technical facilities, archive rooms, and a library with a reading room were designed. Floor 2 was to house the administration, the science labs, and one large warehouse. Two business apartments and a warehouse were designed in the attic.

Mill II, together with Bielarska Island, was to serve as an exhibition, which made it possible to maintain the hall-like character of the interior.

A temporary exhibition room was located on the ground floor – easily accessible thanks to the possibility to enter from outside. The next two floors were to house two large exhibition rooms and one storeroom in the attic, connected by a cargo and passenger crane. Next to the lift shaft, there were closets (service and auxiliary), a service room, and an educational office. A part of the halls included an exhibition of exhibits related to milling and an exhibition of iconographic materials concerning both mills and the history of mills on the Oder River

13 The need to design a warehouse for fuel was caused by the decision of the Wroclaw Union of Municipal Economy, which informed in a relevant letter (31.10.1966) about the impossibility of connecting the facilities to the heating network [191].



97. Designed ground floor plan of St Claire's Mills with adaptation for the Ethnographic Museum (1966); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

in Wrocław. Through the window, one could observe the reconstructed mill wheel moving in the working channel, which was planned to be an additional attraction.

It was decided to dry the existing foundations through ventilated air ducts hidden by all walls from both the external and internal side (1.5 m deep and 0.6 m wide).

The newly designed reinforced concrete foundation walls and ceilings were to receive horizontal insulation (including vertical insulation, if necessary) made of two layers of tar paper on an adhesive layer.

The construction of the walls was designed to be brick on lime mortar, in reference to the preserved walls of the building. The partition walls were to be made of hollow brick on cement and lime mortar [191]. The construction of pillars, joists, and stairs was designed as poured reinforced concrete. The ceilings

and the flat roof of the warehouse were adopted in Ackerman technology. The roof truss was to be made of wood, and the roof covered with flat tiles. The load-bearing structure of the catwalk between both mills was to consist of steel bearing posts supporting the joists and a reinforced concrete ceiling. The sub-sill walls were made of aerated concrete. The roof was also supposed to be covered by a flat tile. The fuel storehouse was made of aerated concrete, covered with a slab ceiling, and protected from the outside with tar paper on an adhesive layer.

In terms of interior decoration, category II plasters were used, painted with lime milk, and in studios and offices – with light-coloured lime paint. Reinforced concrete pillars and joists were to preserve the raw character of concrete, only whitewashed with lime. The lavatories were to be finished with white tiling laid to a height of 1.50 m. Floors in utility rooms, corridors, warehouses and carpenter's and joiner's workshops were finished with cement finish. In administration offices, conservation and scientific laboratories, archives, and in the corridor, the floors were to be finished with PVC tiles. The exhibition rooms, halls, and stairs were equipped with colourful terrazzo. The floor in the reading room and the foyer was to be made of oak staves. The windows were designed as double-paned, oil-painted in a dark colour on the outside. Most of the doors were to be made of wood varnished with clear varnish. The walls in the exhibition room on the ground floor of Mill I had a steel structure with the addition of aluminum profiles, glazed with 6 mm thick transparent glass. The building was planned to be equipped with gas and central water heating systems from the local boiler room. The installation of heat receivers in the form of ribbed heaters was planned in the under-window recesses of the rooms. The fire protection system included detectors in the storage and exhibition rooms and hydrants on staircase landings. The external illumination of the buildings and external lighting of the exhibits located on the territory of Bielarska Island was also planned.

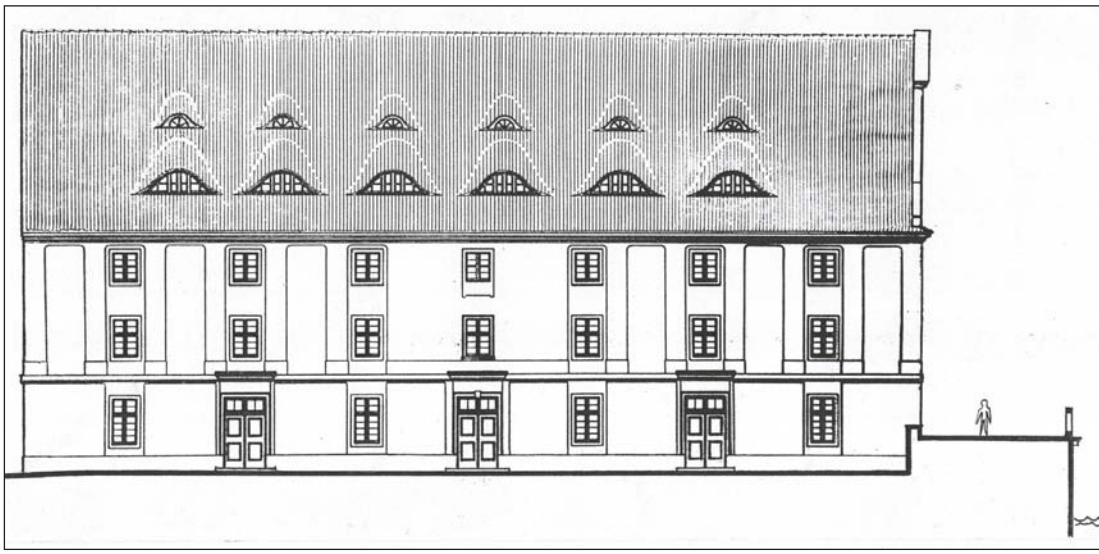
Lime plasters were planned to serve as the finish for the façade. Profiles, mirrors, the stucco of gables and cornices were to be made of mortar painted with emulsion paint. Both buildings were to be an impressive architectural and urban complex in a green island complex. It was planned to leave the façade of the added warehouse in the natural colour of concrete with visible vertical planking, just like the lower parts of the catwalk walls.

The planned changes in the site's development were to include the renovation of brick and stone waterfront, weir, as well as cleaning the bottom of the watercourses.

A new bridge between the mills, a footbridge leading to Jedności Narodowej Street, new roads, paths, and a utility yard by the fuel storehouse were also designed.

The architectural concept emphasized the greatest possible preservation of authentic elements of the monument. Drying of walls and replacement of damaged structural elements were considered to be necessary activities within the scope of the restoration and determinant of the continuation of the structure[14].

14 Their necessity was shown in the ruling of the technical condition and the framework of usefulness for further exploitation of the remaining fragments of the historic building Mill II of St Clare, Wrocław Bielarska Island [191]. It was commissioned by E. Małachowicz, the Conservator of the City of Wrocław. The ruling consists of a drawing section and a description in which the structural elements to be replaced are marked. It was also recommended that the external walls should



98. Design of the northern elevation of Mill I on the Bielarska Island; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

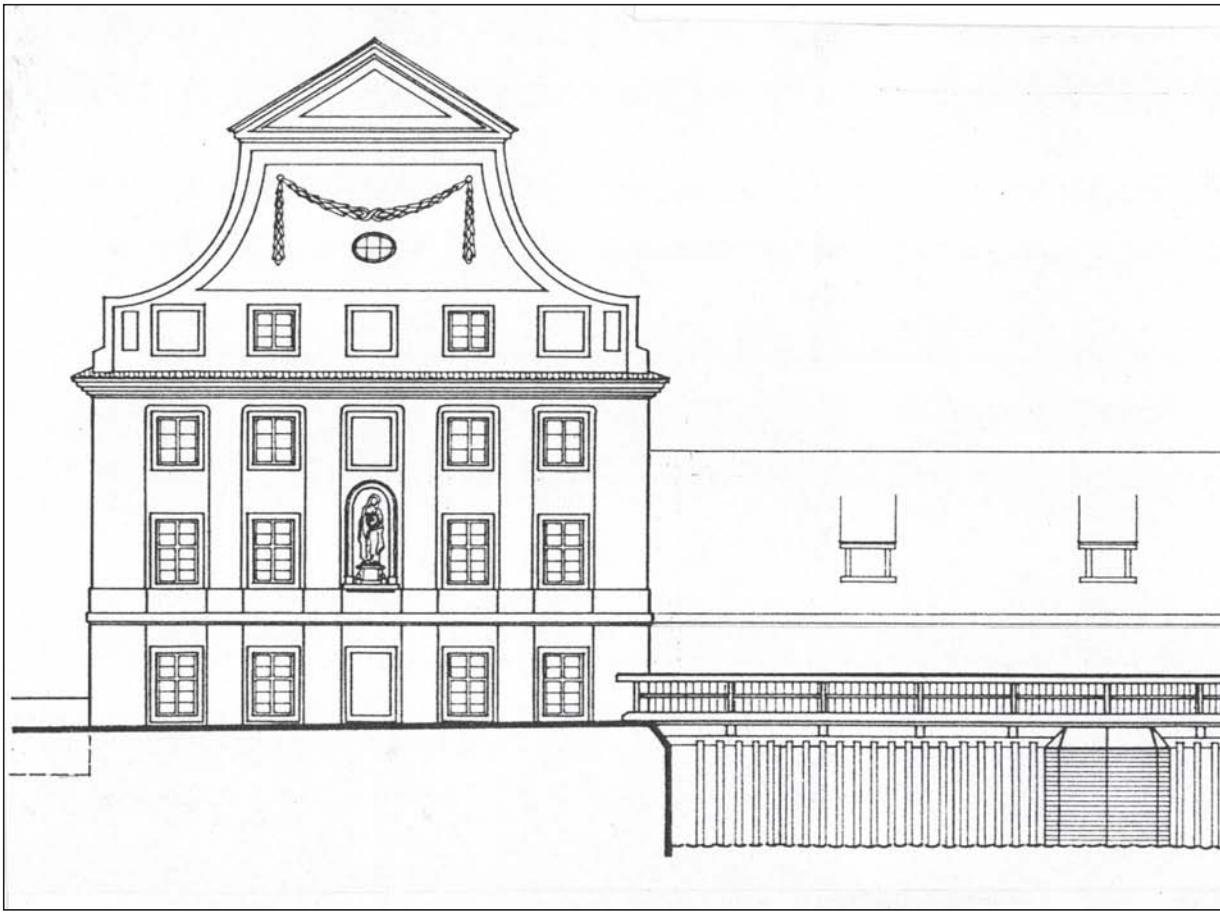
It was mainly about lintels and some decorative elements of the crowning cornice, the necessary supplementation of external walls – especially those from the side of working canals that were subject to water erosion. Other elements, such as ceilings and pillars were to be made in reinforced concrete technology for utility and construction reasons. The original wooden ceilings had been preserved in the form of several heavily fungus-infested beams and were no longer suitable for reuse[15].

For utility reasons and taking into account the analysis of the old architectural composition, the additions were to differ from the historic building by using a different structural material – i.e., raw concrete with visible formwork on the façade. This measure can be considered to be in line with the guidelines set out two years earlier in the Venice Charter: [...] the complementary works [...] will bear the mark of our times [46].

The reintegration included destroyed parts of the building, especially the gables and roofs of both Mills. The elevations of Mills were reconstructed in historical forms, with the difference that (due to a change in the function of the buildings) in Mill I, part of the windows in the northern elevation (from the working channel side) were bricked up on the ground floor. This action referred

be reinforced with Ø 10 rods, damaged lintels and cornices bricked up, and the transversal hardening wall of Mill II demolished. The building was to be anchored with steel rods at the ceiling level of all floors. It was also necessary to make new curtain walls for the waterfront plinth with new brick, recessed into the existing wall by 25 cm. In the final conclusions, the following passage can be found: Existing walls can still be used provided that renovation and appropriate reinforcements are carried out. It was pointed out that the renovation should be carried out as soon as possible as the current technical condition of some walls was considered critical. Leaving the existing walls further unprotected against direct weather conditions will lead to complete destruction by corrosion, which will make these walls unusable [191, p. 11].

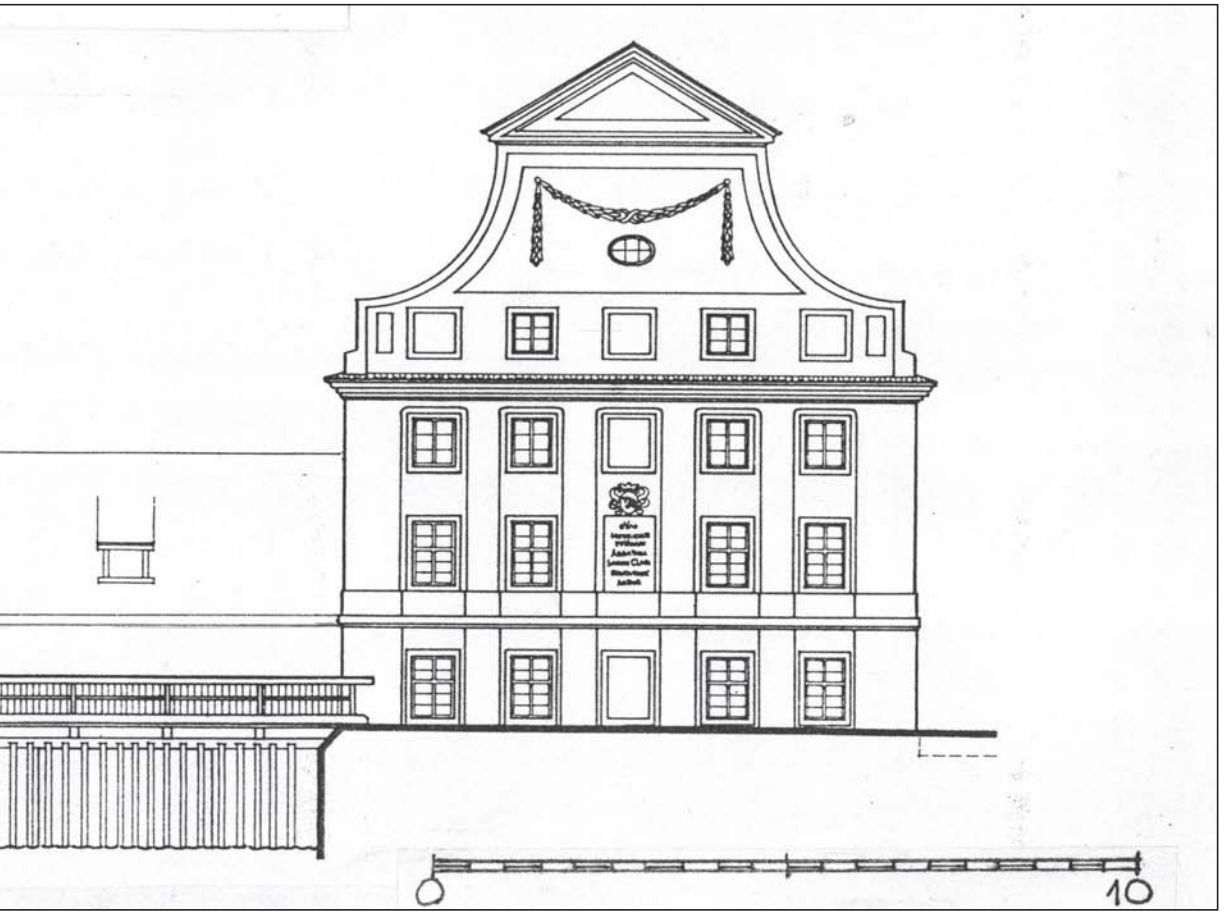
15 This was confirmed by a mycological and constructional ruling of the remaining fragments of the historic building Mill II of St Clare, Wroclaw Bielarska Island. Cf.: [191]. The walls were found to be significantly fungus-infested, mainly on the ground floor. On the surviving fragments of the wooden elements, a white Poria Vaporaria fungus was detected in an active process, III degree of destruction. The wood had also been destroyed by bacteria.



to the method of post-war reconstruction of monuments in Poland according to Jan Zachwatowicz's concept – to restore the buildings to their original aesthetic value so that they become monuments to the history of the Polish nation. The interior of Mill I, originally with a hall-like layout, was divided into smaller rooms for utility reasons. The mechanisms of water wheels in the working channel of the Mill I [96, p. 180] were also reconstructed.

The relocation of rural wooden buildings to Bielarska Island (in order to arrange an ethnographic park) isolated from the rest of the city by water and greenery would create an ensemble of a completely different character. The creation of an open-air museum park made of wooden cottages from Turoszów can be considered an example of landscape shaping rather than conservation of a monument's surroundings, even though it referred to the old wooden architecture of the islands.

Since the preliminary design of the mills' reconstruction (1966) planned to reconstruct their 18th-century external appearance (the buildings at that time were mostly wooden, gradually replaced by brick ones), it seems that it could have been a direct inspiration for Edmund Małachowicz to reconstruct also the atmosphere of the surrounding monuments.



99. St Clare's Mills – design of the eastern elevation; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

An important element of this design was also the choice of the future function, clearly referring to the tradition of the place. The planned museum and the projected exhibits were to promote knowledge of the history of milling and architecture of Wrocław's mills.

The described preliminary design from 1966 by Edmund Małachowicz was supplemented two years later by an annex prepared by the architect Anna Guerquin in the Wrocław branch of the PP PKZ. The design was approved for implementation on 18 April 1967[16]. A more detailed elaboration was necessary in connection with the order received by PP PKZ and concerned the elaboration of subsequent phases of the preliminary design: water and sewage system, heating installation, mechanical ventilation, electric installation, updating of inventory measurements, a survey of water management conditions, functional changes.

16 Relevant document on the adaptation of mills for the Ethnographic Museum (№ BUA-I_600/7-1710/67) signed by the main architect of Wrocław Z. Bodak after the agreement with the future user L. Itman [191].

All the actions taken were aimed at the quickest possible start of the reconstruction of St Claire's Mills, as the technical condition of the buildings was deteriorating at a very fast pace.

During the next eleven years (since the first inventory of 1957), the objects' deterioration as a result of atmospheric conditions led to the collapse of the western gable of Mill I and to the loss of almost all plaster from the walls[17]. The cornices crowning the buildings together with the crest of the walls and the face of the wall on the waterline of the Mlynowka Channel were heavily corroded. The whole surface of the walls was strongly cracked with traces of numerous cavities. The gable in the western elevation of Mill II was in such a bad technical condition (large gaps in the wall, numerous cavities in the brick) that Anna Guerquin designated it for demolition. There were also no remnants of water equipment, metal ladders, and the sculpture of St Claire[18] from Mill I. The ground floor openings were provisionally bricked up.

In 1969, on behalf of Edmund Małachowicz, a technical-and engineering analysis was carried out by an expert of the Provincial Court in Wrocław to demonstrate the profitability of the project of St Clare's Mills reconstruction [102]. Destruction of Mill I was estimated at 29.97% and Mill II – 36.26%. On this basis, Mill I was classified as an investment, and Mill II was designated for major repairs[19]. Considering the whole reconstruction of buildings intended for the new function, the scope of works to be performed was determined to be less than 70% (exactly 66.89%) – therefore, the investment was classified as the reconstruction of buildings under major repairs. The value of[20] construction and installation works without the cost of documentation and equipment was estimated to be 10 518 321 PLN, which is 712 PLN/m^3. Despite the low use of external structural walls, the overall economic effect of the project was considered to be cost-effective.

The preliminary design with the annexe was evaluated by the Team of Experts of the Provincial Commission for Economic Planning in Wrocław [161] on 26 February 1970; the new investor was to be the Silesian Museum in Wrocław[21]. Initially, the amount allocated for reconstruction was to be PLN 13,403,390. As Mirosław Przyłęcki, then Provincial Conservator argued, the sense of rebuilding the mills was supported by the fact that they were class 3 monuments and one

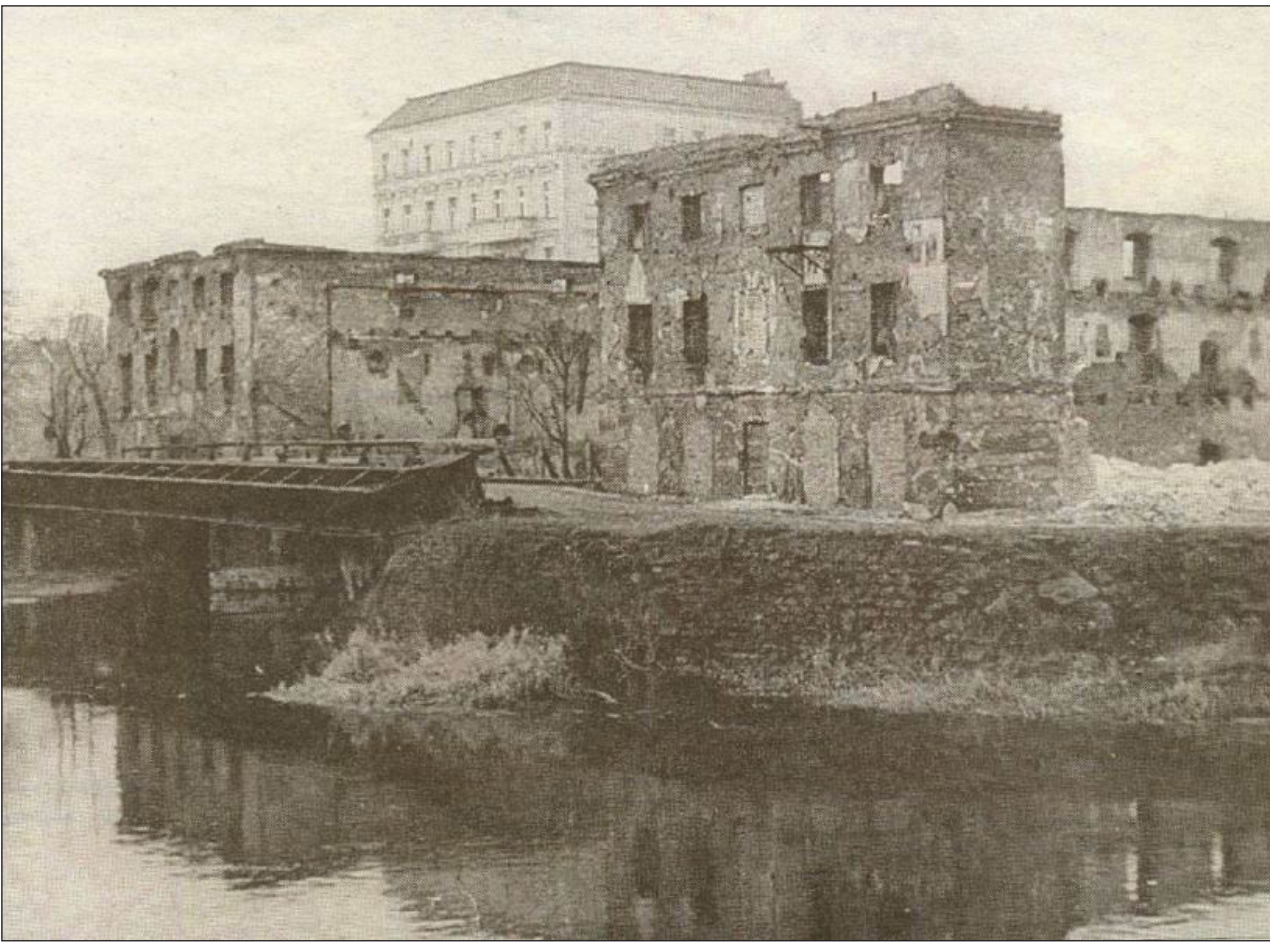
17 The description of the progressing destruction of St Claire's Mills was based on a comparative analysis of drawings and photographs from the inventory of objects from the years 1957 and 1968 [162, 191]. According to the information given to the author by E. Małachowicz, the mill wheels were cut and the iron elements were scrapped.

18 In 1968, the office of the Conservator of the City of Wrocław carried out a renovation and supplementation of the sculpture, by [203, p. 2]. The statue of St Clare was transferred and used in the design of the House for Retired Priests (Wrocław, 12 Katedralna Street) by Edmund Małachowicz.

19 J. Małek referred to the table of the State Insurance Company approved by the Ministry of Finance in a letter dated 23.07.1957 № RMU/277/57. The basis for determining the percentage of destruction was the existing condition of the buildings, i.e., brick buildings three storeys high [102, p. 5].

20 In the report, there is a note that this indicator is quite high due to the simple arrangement of walls with a small architectural design [102, p. 7].

21 High adaptation costs most likely caused the change of investor. The financial resources available at that time to the office of the Conservator of Monuments of the City of Wrocław for 1968 amounted to 4,369,380 PLN (including 2,850,000 PLN from the central budget and 1,519,380 PLN from the local budget) [203].



100. St Clare's Mills (ca. 1975) [236, access: 14.12.2013].

of the rare examples of industrial heritage in the whole province[22]. Moreover, the buildings were located in the immediate vicinity of the tourist route with class 0 monuments. The team of experts stated that the preliminary design valued at PLN 12 646 775 was suitable for approval [161].

The project to rebuild St Claire's Mills for the Ethnographic Museum did not go beyond the initial design phase, and its implementation did not take place[23].

22 In 1964, a classification of architectural and constructional monuments was introduced. It introduced a controversial division of monuments into five classes (0–IV) according to the so-called monument evaluation criterion. Cf.: [134, s. 31, 32].

23 It can be assumed that the reason may have been insufficient awareness of the value of this monument. On the basis of information provided by E. Małachowicz, J. Przyłęcki and J. Cempa (then acting as the conservator), the then authorities of Wrocław saw the buildings as only a focus of rat infestation and a ruin [220, 225, 231]. In 1971, the condition of the objects was so bad already that M. Czerepanow wrote in a mycological and constructional ruling: "Based on the results of the local inspection and the Technical Instructions on the impregnation of embedded wood and removing the fungal infestation from buildings – appendix to Decree № 45 MGK of 16.06.58 L. Dz. MG/1723/58 and appendix № 1 to Decree № 21 of the Minister of Municipal Economy of 19.06.1970 the building is eligible for demolition. However, due to the historic character of the object, it was decided to rebuild it using the maximum of the remaining structural

In 1975 (the International Year of Monuments Protection), the mills were blown up by sappers from the Officer School of Engineering as a result of the decision of the then president of Wroclaw – Marian Czulinski. The demolition of the mills was widely publicised not only in Wrocław, but also throughout Poland. People of culture and architectural circles protested. The authorities of the People's Republic of Poland, in order to calm the wave of criticism a little[24], removed Marian Czuliński from his post. Today only the foundations, the working canals of the mills with their flood relief, the foundation plaque[25], and the sculpture of St Clare are left from the objects.

elements" [191 p. 3]. Other factors such as availability of traditional building materials, the city's investment policy towards large panel system housing, very poor technical condition of the facilities meant that restoring the mills to their use would take too much time and cost.

24 Critical voices also appeared in the press, among others in [153].

25 Currently stored in the Museum of Architecture.

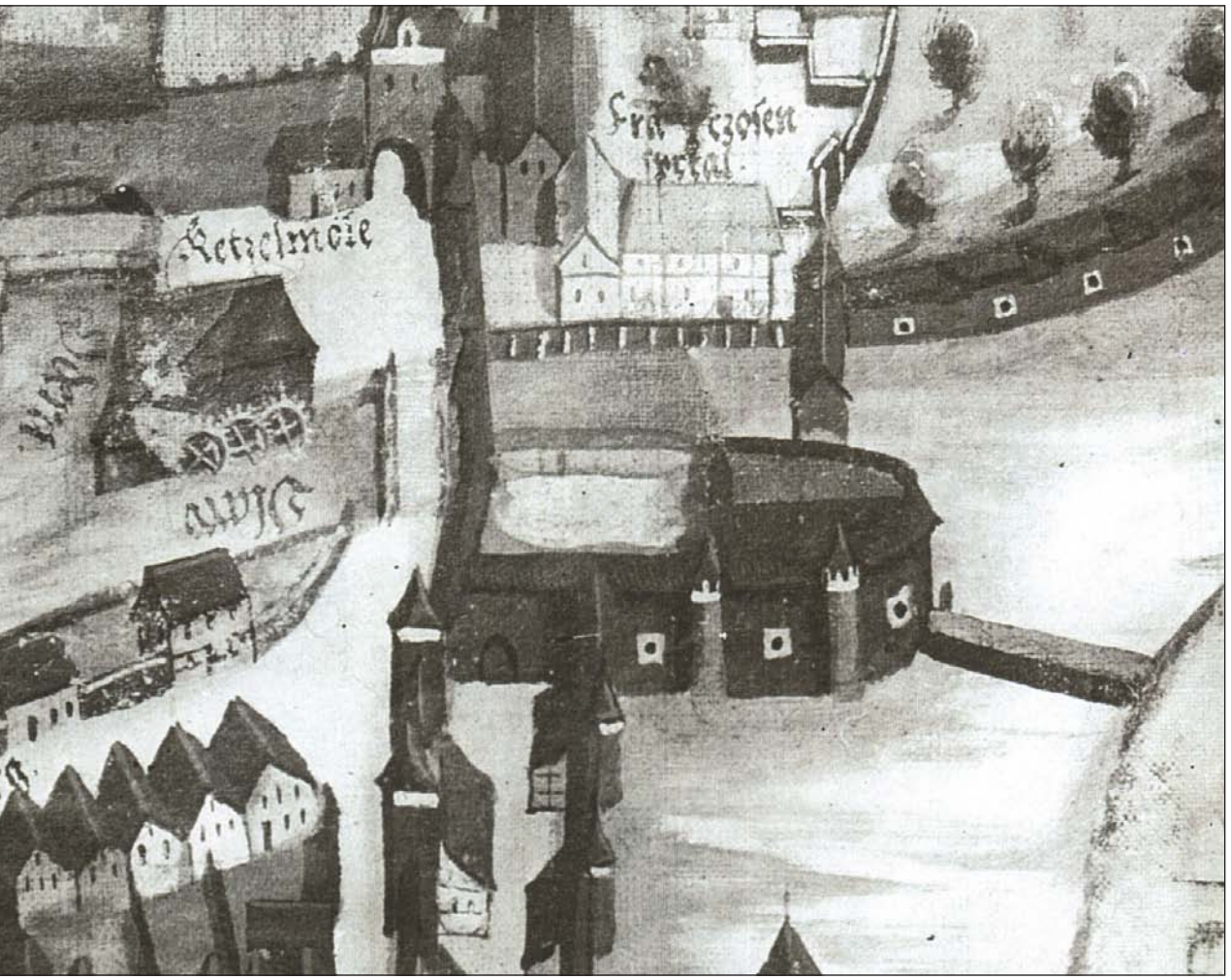
101. A panorama of Słodowa and Bielarska Islands (2011) (left), a fragment of the Mill II wall (2011) (right); photo E.G.

[...] When the sappers were setting up explosive charges, I asked my successor to send a telegram to the chief commander that monuments of Polish culture were being demolished by the hands of the soldiers of the People's Army, then the sappers would go away. Yeah, he said, but then I'd lose my job.

5.3. Bernardine bastion, J. Słowacki Avenue (1967–1971) – the design of conservation and partial reconstruction of fragments of the former city fortifications

In 1965, during earthworks for the construction of the Panorama[26] hotel, on Dominikański Square, from the side of J. Słowacki Avenue, a section of brick wall with a thickness significantly exceeding the dimensions of ordinary brick walls was encountered. Based on preliminary examination of the building, it could be concluded that it was most probably a lost, medieval fragment of the New Town fortifications.

26 The building was designed by J. Liśniewicz and H. Jarosz; it was demolished in 1999 in connection with the construction of Galeria Dominikańska.



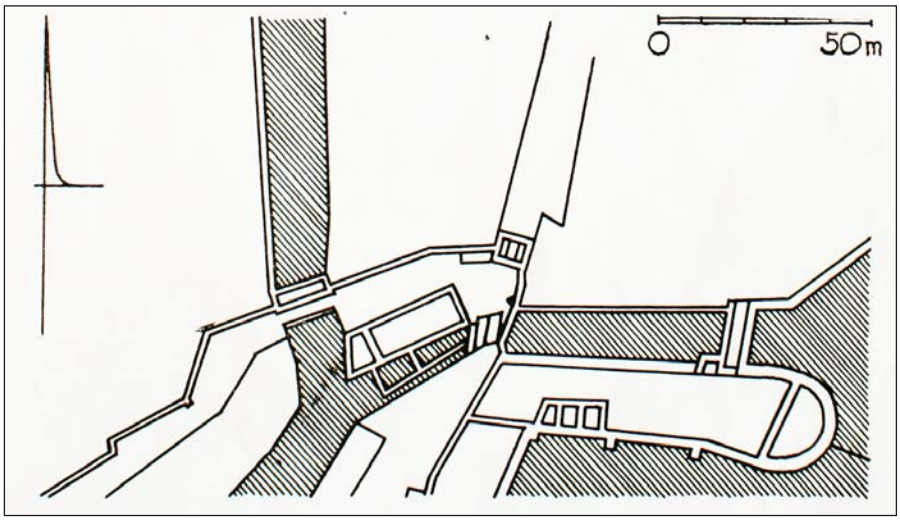
102. A fragment of the Weiner's plan (1562) with a visible Bernardine bastion; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

Due to the relatively good state of preservation and its unique character, Edmund Małachowicz undertook activities aimed at further research and conservation of the object[27]. In-depth historical and iconographic studies and analysis of the subject literature[28] were carried out [il. 99]. Simultaneously, additional opencast research and inventory were performed by Wojciech Zachodny[29]. Based on the collected materials, the researchers confirmed their assumption that this was a late medieval fragment of the city's defensive wall (1.38 m thick), a cur-

27 Unfortunately, the part of the wall running westward was demolished before the conservation service was able to issue appropriate protection decisions.

28 Iconography: Schaedel's Chronicle (1493), B. Weiner's plan (1562), F. Gross's plan (1578), G. Hauer's axonometry (1591), M. Morian's axonometry (ca. 1600) in [177]. Literature: [8, 12, 48]. Furthermore, E. Małachowicz noticed analogies in the solutions of Nuremberg fortifications and found references to the treaty on fortifications by A. Dürer.

29 Obtaining a complete picture of the building took quite a long time because of the difficult access caused by the masses of land piled during the earthworks for the construction of the hotel. Cf.: [177, s. 3].



103. A fragment of the copy of F. Gross's plan (1578) [72, p. 103]

tain dike (2.42 m thick) with a tower, and a bastion neck (2.02 m thick) and two towers. The structure consisted of Gothic bricks measuring 8.5–9 × 12 × 27 cm, in a Polish arrangement (with dark headers and joints painted red relative to the face of the wall). The loophole borders were made of sandstone.

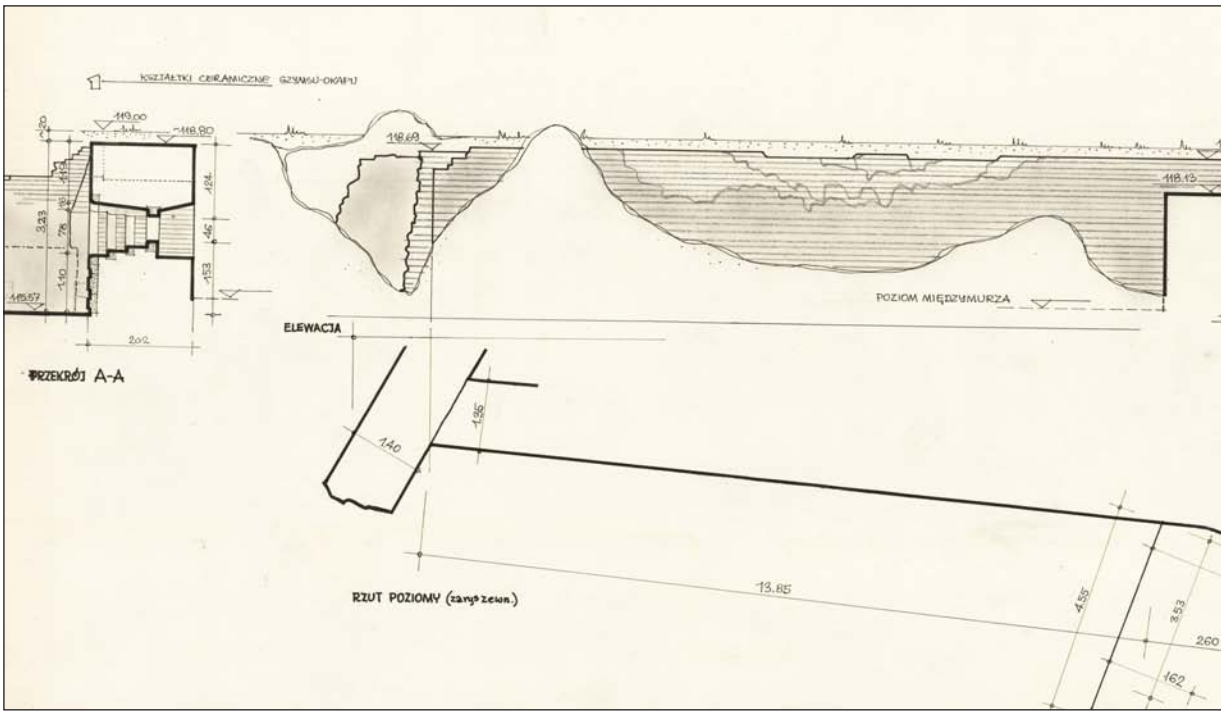
The length of the uncovered section was 85.25 m. The bastion was quite far beyond the line of the New Town's defensive walls and thus had a large firing range. It was built on a horseshoe plan and consisted of two parts – front and back. The front part was open in the trace, ending in an oval, with eight radial loopholes. The pitch of the crest of the walls ensured the drainage of rainwater and prevented the ricocheting of bullets. The eaves were made of ceramic fittings, which were retrieved from the rubble. The lower level of the bastion consisted of the casemates and access to the platforms by the firing parapet. The rear part was built on a plan of an irregular trapezoid with six firing positions that allowed the curtain to be flanked from the south. The lower level had a vault covered with a layer of earth. The back wall had no openings, and its crest was a firing parapet, enabling the defence of the bastion from the city side[30]. The discovered former defensive wall continued under the pavement of J. Słowacki Avenue – it ran towards the Bernardine monastery. However, the form of the finial on the defensive turrets was not clearly established [92, p. 156].

In the 17th century, the bastion was rebuilt into the bastion of St Job[31]. At that time, the crest of the walls was pulled down, and an additional storey was added. The medieval part was covered with soil. Out of the parts that came from the period of modern reconstruction, three shooting ranges in the first bay of the neck (rebuilt into a shoulder), remnants of semi-circular walls from the inside of the neck, and details of loophole frames survived.

During the demolition of the city's fortifications in 1807, the former moat was buried, and the surrounding area was raised. The crown of the bastion

30 The entrance from the neck was a staircase or ramp, most probably wooden. This allowed them to be destroyed if necessary and thus cut off access to the bastion from both sides.

31 The name comes from St Job's Hospital, which the Bernardines placed in their monastery near the bastion.



104. Drawings from architectural studies of bastions made by E. Małachowicz (1967); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

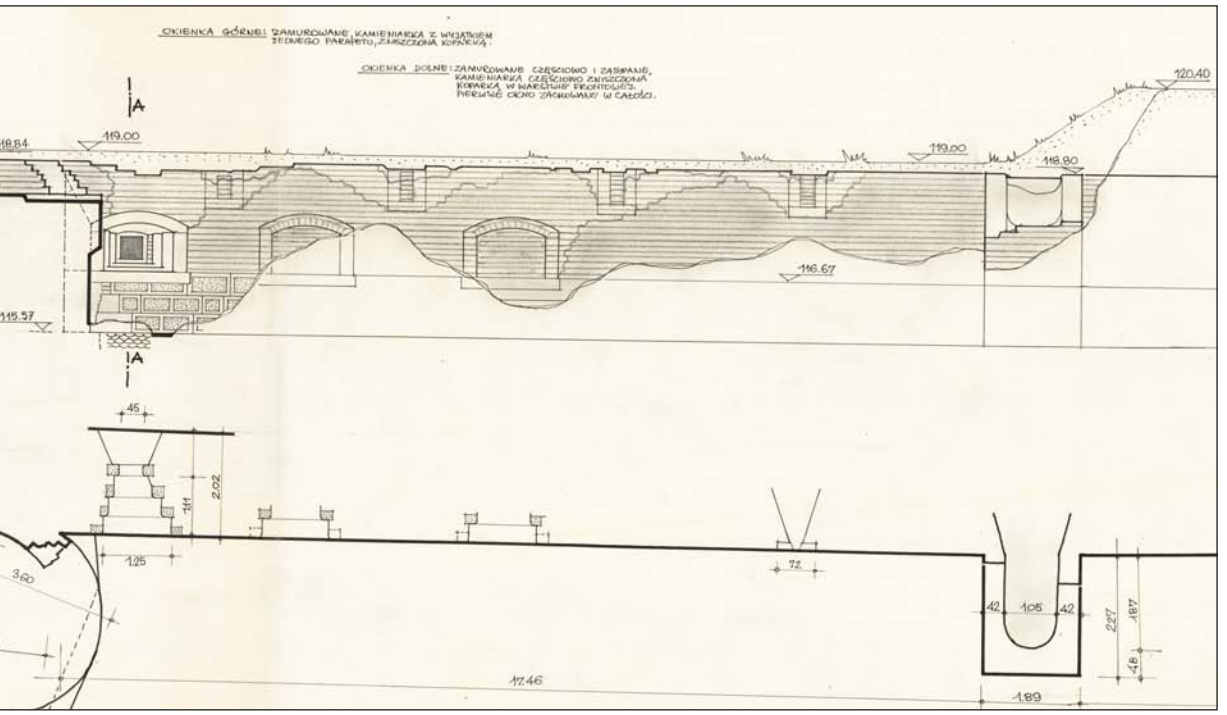
was dismantled, but the casemates were left. In the middle of the 19th century, a residential building was built there. In 1926, the 17th-century casemates were adapted for a beer hall. Edmund Małachowicz describes them as an "interior composed of three parallel rooms, barrel-vaulted and terminated with loopholes" [72, p. 113]. Both objects survived until 1945. In the 1950s, as part of the city's debris removal programme, the remains of the tenement house were blown up together with the casemates. An earthwork covered the surviving remnants of the fortifications until 1967.

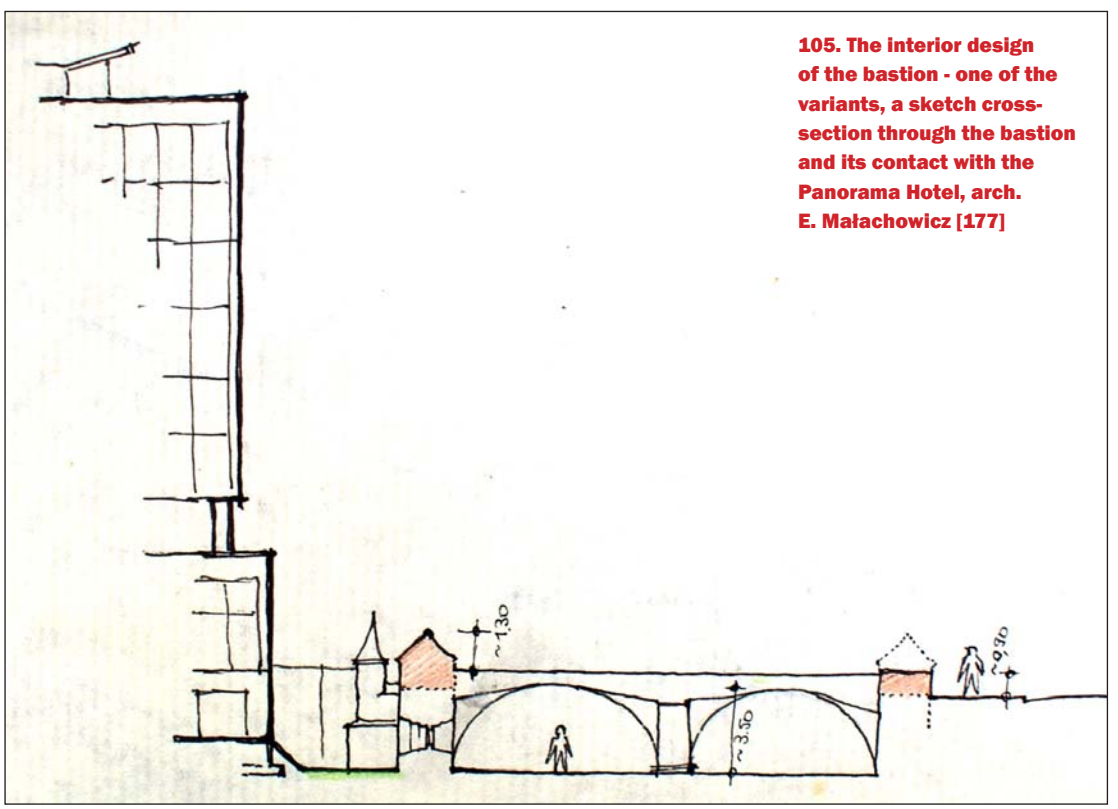
Based on the obtained research material, Edmund Małachowicz formulated guidelines to carry out the conservation of the defensive bastion at Dominikański Square. The main idea was to partially reconstruct its plan and architecture, leaving a part as a ruin with the outline of the walls marked. From the south, he planned to lower the ground level to 115.57 m with loopholes exposed in this way [177, p. 1]. Along the bastion, he designed a green belt, a pavement, and a utility ramp. The lack of buildings in this place made it possible to see the bastion from the southeast. The western part of the Gothic wall was planned to be exposed up to a height of 40 cm below the level of the adjacent land.

Different variants of the bastion's interior design were considered. The first one assumed reintegration of interiors and vaults with adaptation for utility purposes – e.g., a catering function. The whole was to be covered by an earth dike, the slope of which was planned to be directed towards the Slowackiego Av.

The entrance to the underground was planned by stairs located at the northern elevation of Panorama[32] Hotel. The possibility of partial reintegration of the

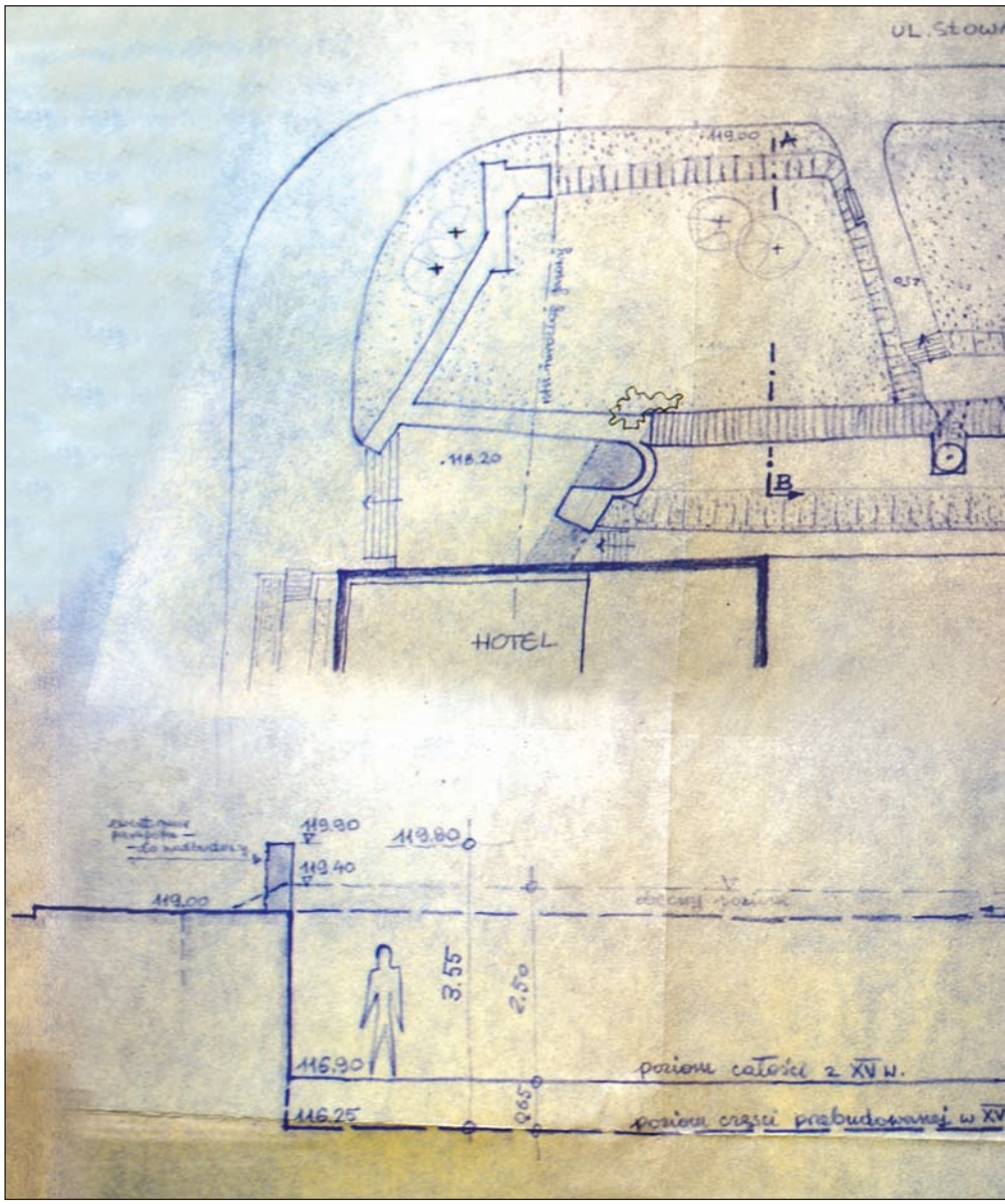
32 The hotel was opened on 27 April 1970 and demolished 29 years later.





105. The interior design of the bastion - one of the variants, a sketch cross-section through the bastion and its contact with the Panorama Hotel, arch. E. Małachowicz [177]

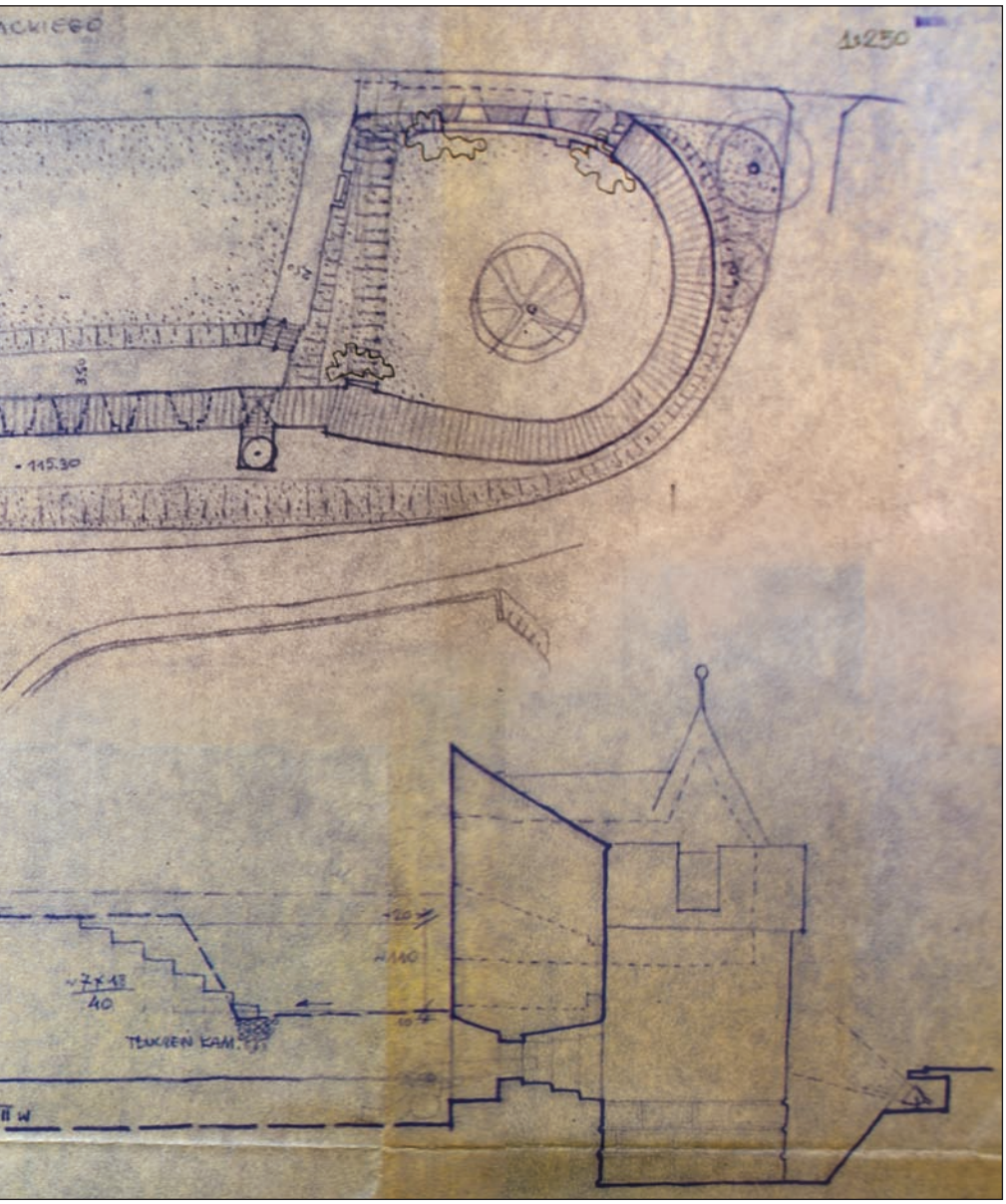
[...] If it hadn't been for my stubbornness, they would certainly have demolished the bastion, and yes - they had to move the hotel [...] [225]. I saved it, and it still stands today [...] [225].



underground parts of the bastion was also taken into account, leaving the rest of the interior in an exposed form, fenced off by a defensive wall and accessible from the level of the old casemates. The final design lowered the area in the central part to the interior level from the 15th century – the designer wanted to expose the loopholes. The interior was landscaped.

The discovered traces of the walls were uncovered and preserved. Part of the oval end was marked with a low wall showing the outline of loopholes.

Missing parts of the stonemasonry were filled in. For safety reasons and in order to restore the building to a more cohesive form with a clear purpose, it was decided to brick up the damaged part and reconstruct the finial on the basis of

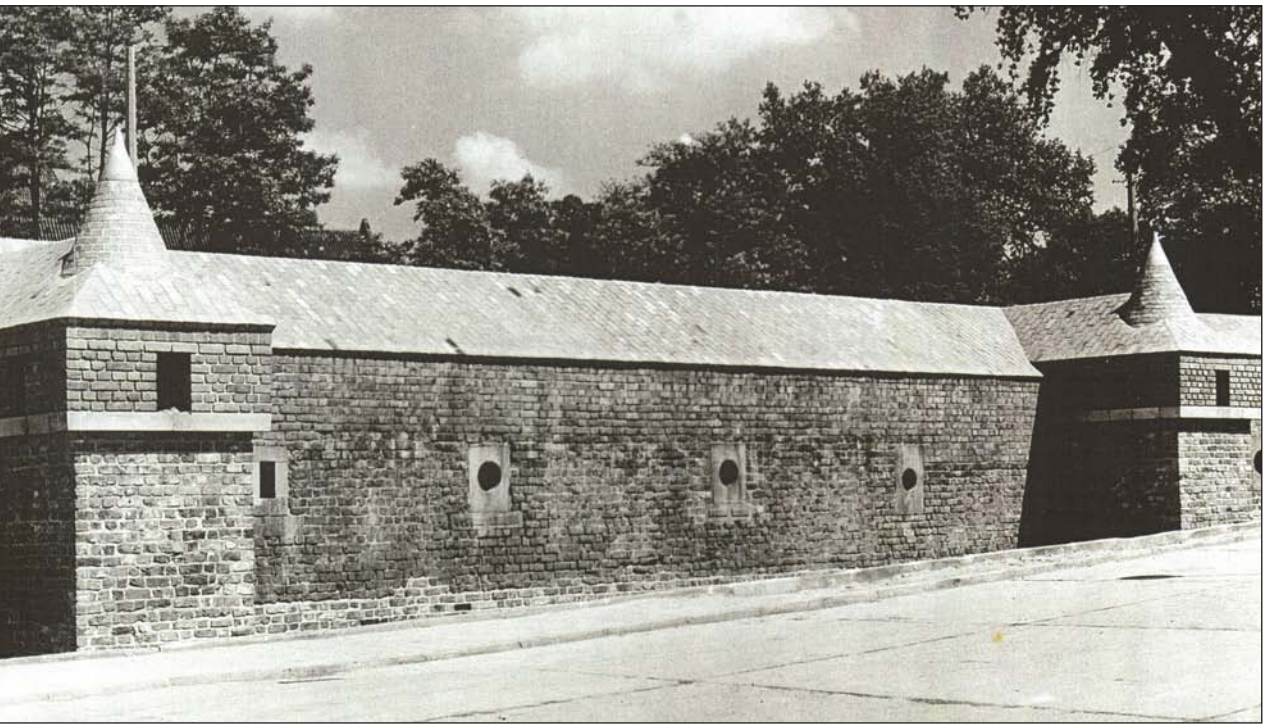


106. A plan and cross-section of the realized design of conservation of the Bernardine bastion [177]

preserved iconographic material and retrieved fragments[33]. All authentic elements retrieved from the debris underwent anastylosis.

The preserved negative shape of the interior was used, as well as the analysis of Weiner's and Schedel's drawings, and the towers were reconstructed. During the conservation work, Edmund Małachowicz discovered stone markings similar to those he had known from St Bernard's Church. This gave him the idea to look

33 After lowering the area by the southern external wall of the bastion due to expose the loopholes, a considerable height difference between the street and the interior arose. The lack of a sloping window sill encouraged walking along a straight section of the wall, which was dangerous and could end in a tumble – the current height of the wall did not provide a proper barrier.



107. Bastion after conservation (1971); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

for similarities between the finials of the towers and the top of the Bernardine church. Some of the former fortification walls were left under the roadway and pavement of J. Słowackiego Avenue. A partially visible section of the fortification running through greenery adjacent to the Bernardine monastery was left. The project was completed in 1971.

The used principle of reconstructing select elements of the bastion without leaving the whole as a permanent ruin was not faithful to the conservative views of the time. Edmund Małachowicz, describing his design, justified his decisions in the following way: "[...] The principles recently formulated in the Venice Charter, known from the theory of heritage conservation, are generally not challenged, yet practice sometimes poses problems for the conservators, forcing them to deviate more or less from the theories that are in a way right. Sometimes, a departure determines the preservation and conservation of a monument" [72, p. 119]. Furthermore, without the mixed conservation treatments applied, the bastion could be perceived by an average observer as an unreadable weave of walls. However, a distinction of authentic elements from those reconstructed was applied thanks to the introduction of some simplification of form and the use of a distinctive brick material and joint shape.

The implementation of the design entailed the necessity to change the location of the Panorama Hotel by about 7 m in the south-western direction. It was necessary to review design documents, which delayed the deadline for completion of the construction works, resulting in financial problems for the contractors (bonuses for punctuality were paid at that time). A separate issue in this context

108. Bernardine Bastion - view from the north (2014); photo: E.G.

was the likely downgrade of the prestige of party authorities. Edmund Małachowicz had to look for a way to convince them of the rightness of their decisions. They believed him that the demolition of such a thick wall would be time-consuming and associated with high costs, as well as with the use of specialist, expensive equipment [72, p. 120].

Thanks to consistency in the Professor's action, the Bernardine Bastion is the best-preserved relic of Wrocław fortifications from the turn of the Middle Ages and modern times.

Thanks to the design, the exhibition of the oldest relics of the city fortifications in Wrocław[34] was initiated. Currently, the building is an unquestionable tourist asset, although the neighbouring Dominican Gallery building (built on the site of the Panorama Hotel) is situated too close to its southern elevation – thus making it impossible to expose the southern wall with its towers fully.

5.4 Former Castle of the Silesian Piasts in Ostrów Tumski, St Martin's Street (1967, 1968) – land development design

In Ostrów Tumski, one of the oldest brick castles in Poland was built, dating back to the 12th century, and the wooden layout dating from the 10th[35]. The first brick building from the beginning of the 11th century was the Chapel of St Martin, which was built on the initiative of the Benedict abbey in Ołbin. The oldest mention of the Ostrów castle dates back to 1257. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the castle was inhabited by governors ruling Silesia on behalf of the duke, then it became the seat of provincial dukes. Buildings in the Romanesque style were successively erected by Bolesław Wysoki, Henryk I Brodaty, Henryk II Pobożny, and Henryk III Biały. Henry IV Probus conducted the reconstruction of the castle complex in the spirit of Gothic architecture. After his death, the castle passed into the hands of Czech dukes and was used less and less frequently. The erection of the manor house on the left bank of the Oder River resulted in Albrecht II (King of Bohemia 1437–1439) handing over the castle to the clergy from the Holy Cross collegiate church in 1439.

In 1512 the castle was demolished, only the tower, which survived to the beginning of the 19th century, and part of the defensive walls with a fortified tower remained. The northern section with adjacent buildings largely survived as divided into separate canonical mansions. The rest of the demolition material was used to build new canonical residences, e.g., Apicius Col's (1692) or Bishop

34 One can mention here the exhibition of the Oławska Gate (1975–1978) in the underpass under the Dominikański Square (the main designer was Józef Cempa). Cf.[20, pp. 79–96]. Similar actions were attempted at the Mikołajska Gate but were failed to be implemented [220].

35 A detailed description of the history of the castle, the stages of its construction, as well as reports on archaeological research carried out can be found in the paper [97].

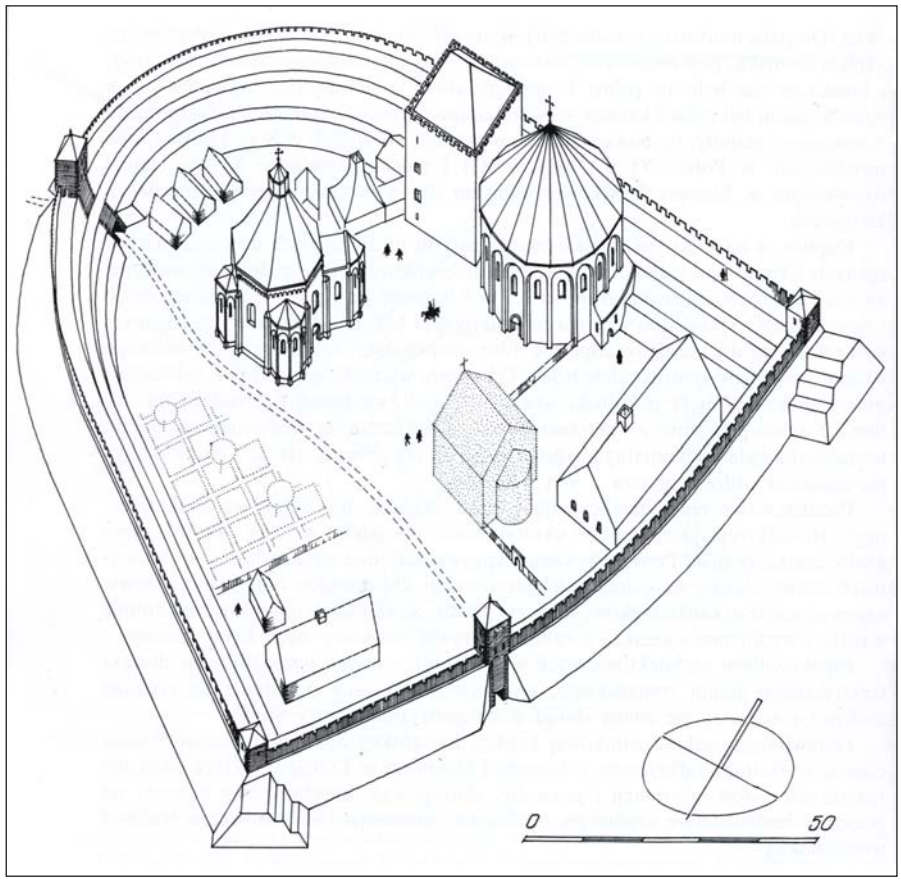
James Brunetti's. Over the next centuries, more buildings were erected on the grounds of the former castle. After the secularization of church property in 1810, several secular institutions which have been preserved to this day were established in this area, including a children's hospital. St Martin's Street was passed through the middle of the castle grounds, thus blurring the former outline of the hillfort marked by the property boundaries. A number of tenement houses were built on both sides of the street, which completely changed the landscape of the former Tumska Island. Most of the buildings were destroyed in 1945 – the area on the southern side of St Martin's Street was cleared of debris. Only St Martin's Chapel remains, which is a trace of the former castle complex – it was rebuilt in 1959. Some of the earliest buildings on the northern side survived in the basements and foundations of the surviving buildings; now, they belong to the convent of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth and the School Sisters of Notre Dame.

The war damage made it possible to carry out scientific research in this area, the results of which changed the outline of the city's history known from the pre-war period to a great extent. The existence of the Ostrów hillfort was confirmed, the beginnings of brick construction were revealed and the scale of its spread in the 13th century. The first post-war research (1946–1951) was carried out by Wojciech Kočka and Rudolf Janka – they discovered a fragment of a rampart on the southern side of St Martin's Street. The research and reconstruction of St Martin's Church were conducted by Tadeusz Kozaczewski [56, p. 91, 92]. In 1966, Olgierd Czerner worked on the area adjacent to the southern section of the wall, where he discovered the outline of the building. Two years later, Edmund Małachowicz and Mirosław Przyłęcki carried out research on the northern part of the castle grounds and preserved buildings [100, pp. 209–211]. The results of the work proved helpful in creating a concept for the development of the castle area in 1968.

The design was inspired by the desire of the communist authorities to erect a monument to Pope John XXIII in Ostrów Tumski. Establishing the original outline of the former courtyard and outline of the castle entailed additional archaeological research, mainly in the northern part. For this reason, the adopted development concept for this area assumed the possibility of a harmonious link between the previous finds and what could have been discovered at a later date. The central point of the composition was a square with a shape similar to the outline of the inner rampart of an early medieval castle. An exposition of all previously discovered relics was planned, i.e., St Martin's Chapel with uncovered remains of buttresses and preserved remains of medieval walls. Also, along the Odra River – a pedestrian boulevard stretching from J. Bem Square to the Tumski Bridge lowered in relation to the square floor by 1.65 m [198]. It was supposed to end in a general-purpose staircase and a monument to John XXIII. The area near Świętokrzyska Street was also slightly lowered, so it was possible to expose part of the overground walls located on the façade of the existing monastery building.

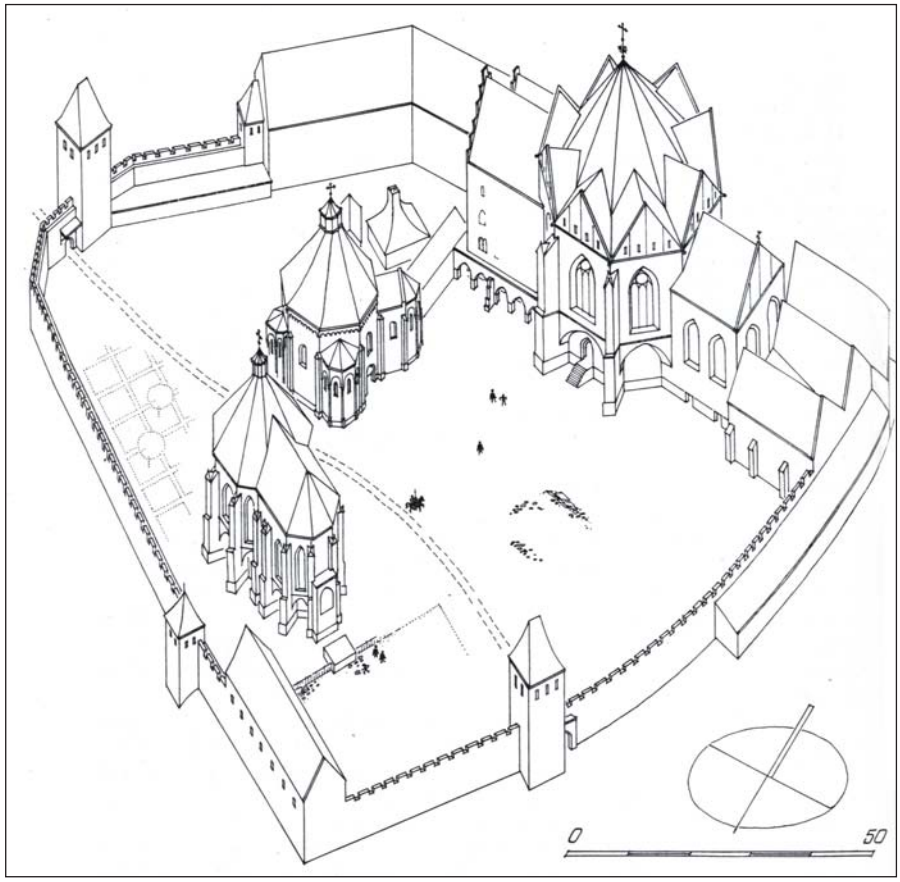
Thanks to the change in the height of the terrain, the uncovered medieval walls were supposed to protrude at the height of 30–60 cm above the floor of the square, and at about 2 m in the part of the boulevard by the Tumski bridge. The outline of the walls of the former town gate in the north-eastern part of the defensive walls was marked at the floor level. The accrual of cultural layers over

109. Axonometric view of the Castle of the Silesian Piasts developed by E. Małachowicz – a study on the reconstruction of buildings: condition from before the mid-13th century. (left), from the late 13th century. (right); [97]]



the following centuries caused most of the relics of the former castle complex to find themselves under the surface of the current level of St Martin's Street and the surrounding area. Therefore, part of the exhibition was planned to be arranged as an underground reserve. The descent was to be at St Martin's Church. It would lead to adapted underground chapels and then to the relics of the late Romanesque chapel covered with a reinforced concrete ceiling which would become a new fragment of the floor of St Martin's Street. The concept was to be complemented by a café on the ground floor of the tenement house (4 Św. Marcina St.), with a vantage opening towards the square, and a souvenir pavilion closing the perimeter of the castle. A new arrangement of paths and stairs made of granite slabs was designed. The lighting of the square was to remain discreet, hidden under the benches. Standing lamps were provided along the streets and the boulevard on the Oder River. The remaining part of the area was devoted to greenery – flower beds, shrubs, new trees.

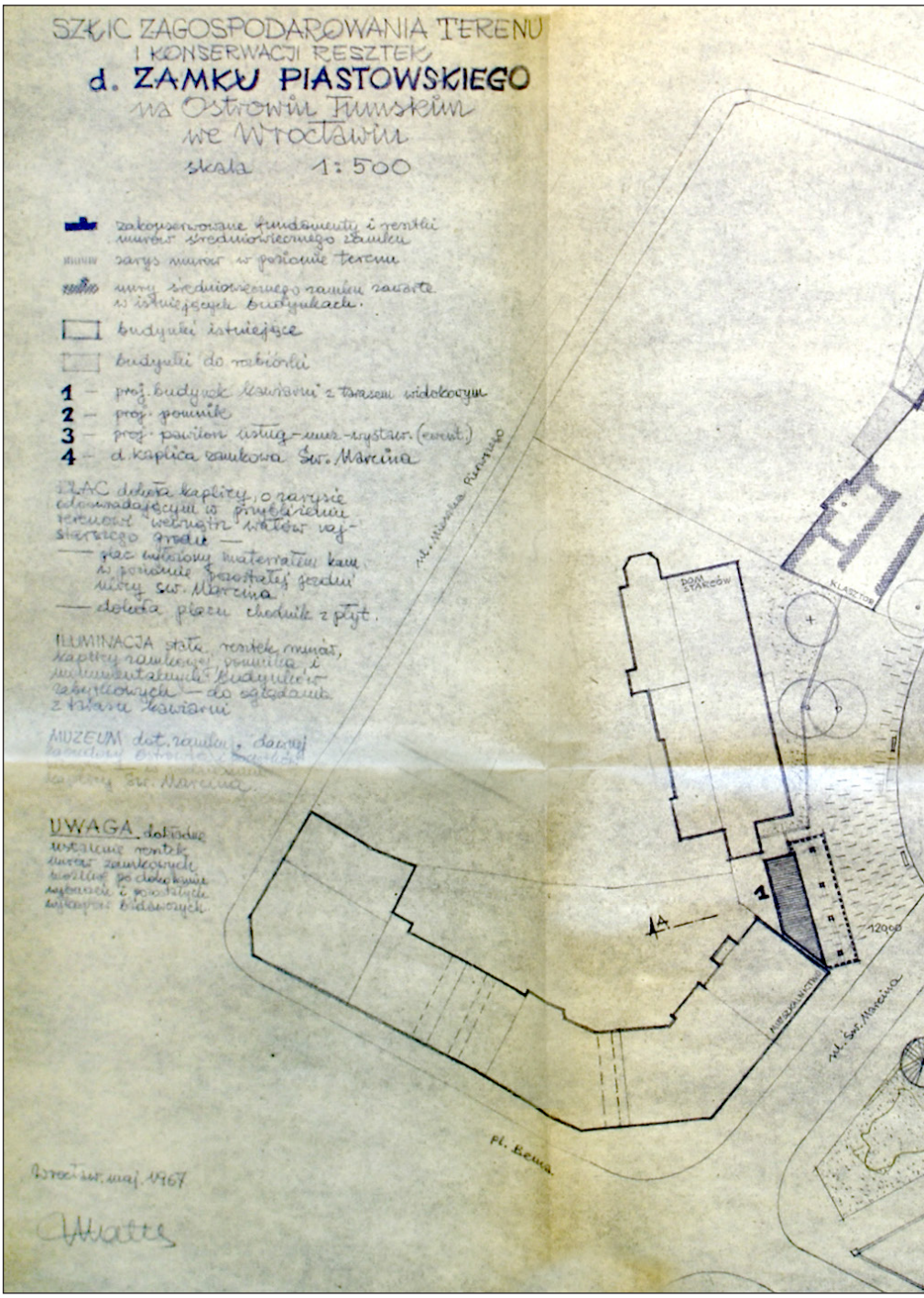
Edmund Małachowicz's conservation design can be regarded as a summary of the first stage of research on the ducal castle. The scope of the investment was significantly reduced during the implementation. It was limited to the conservation of the defensive walls along the Oder River and the construction of a walking boulevard with a monument to John XXIII.



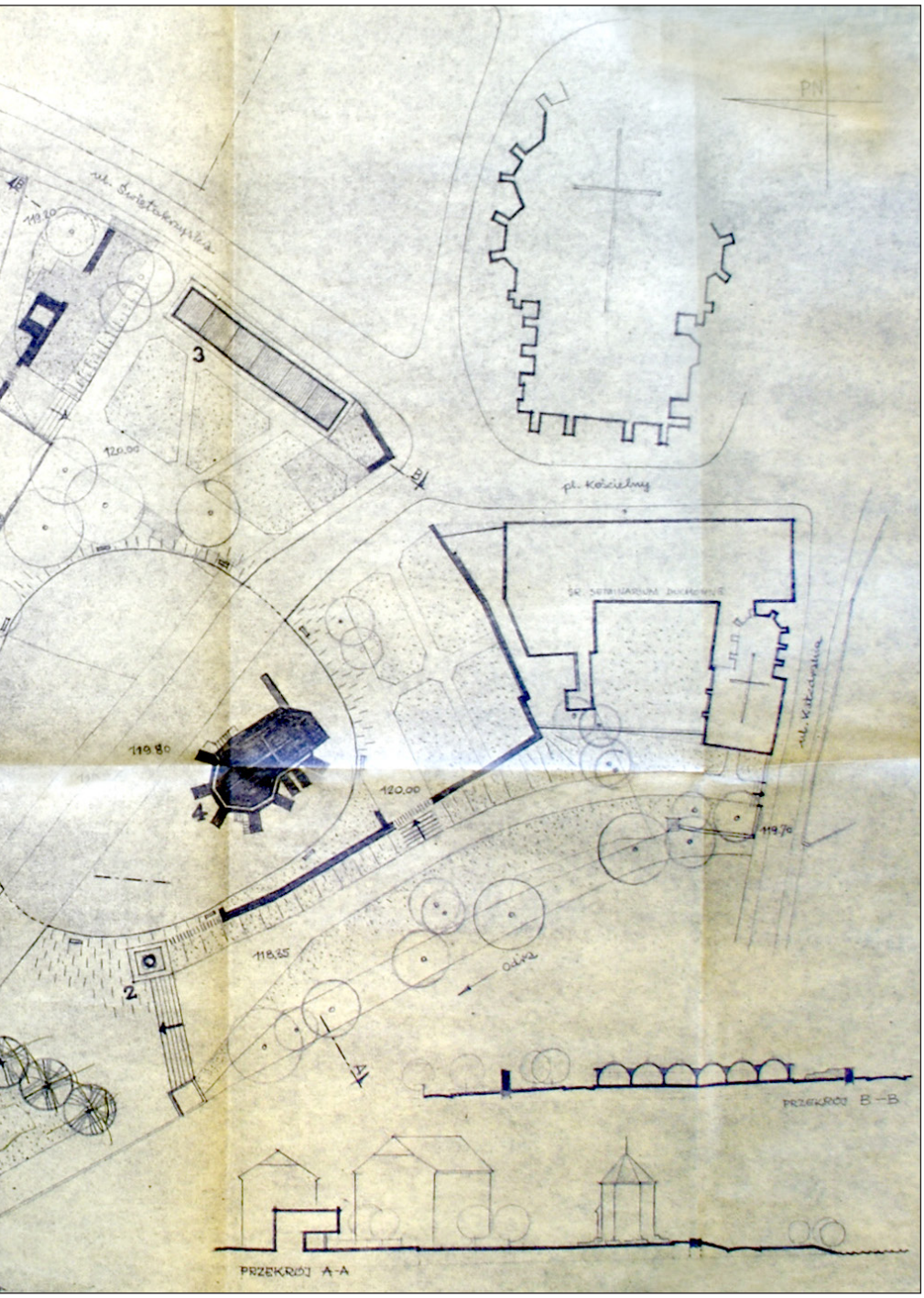
In the years 1970–1973 and 1985–1988, Edmund Małachowicz and Czesław Lasota continued their research of the castle. Further fragments of the walls and many architectural details were discovered. Furthermore, in 1989, together with Andrzej Stupak, another concept for the development of the area of the Piast Castle was developed as a supplement to the 1968 design with new research results [97, p. 180, 181]. It was proposed to extend the underground archaeological reserve in a north-western direction to the present monastery buildings. The rooms were to contain recovered architectural relics. A pavilion covering the remains of the late Romanesque chapel was also designed. The outline of the second gate (the so-called water gate) in the south-western part of the former defensive walls was shown on the plane of the pavement. The discovered foundation of the former Piast Castle was a monument of such high rank that Edmund Małachowicz compared it to Wawel Lost. The conservation of the relics and the possibility of visiting them would create a new, attractive tourist point on the tourist map of Wroclaw.

However, the complex formal and legal situation made the project impossible. The intended programme required the acquisition of part of the area currently under the management of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth and School Sisters of Notre Dame, which proved impossible due to the “resistance of the occupiers” [97, p. 184].

[...] In my opinion, a statue of Mieszko I or Bolesław Chrobry should stand there [...] [225].



110. Sketch of land development and conservation of the remains of the former Piast Castle (1967) [198]



Among the party members there were also particular people, e.g. the secretary of the Provincial Committee. When I finished studying the castle and made the concept design for the development of the area on the Cathedral Island I went to him – he welcomed me very courtly. I presented my design and he liked it. He asked how much the investment would cost, so I gave him the amount. He waved his hand and said they would find as much as needed, but: – You know, what are the relations between the state and the church – he added. – You should talk to them, an exchange of land has to be arranged [225].

111. The area of the former Piast Castle (2014); photo: E.G.

5.5 St Clare Church, Bishop Nankier Square 16 (1968–1970) – reconstruction of the interior and furnishing of the Mausoleum of the Wroclaw Piasts (phase two)

The Order of St Clare was brought to Wrocław in the 13th century thanks to the efforts of Duchess Anna, wife of Henry II the Pious, and their son Henry III. The Poor Clares quickly became an elite congregation enjoying special privileges. Women from the Piast family often performed the function of superiors. Probably that is why the monastery church quickly became a resting place for members of this family[36]. In 1265, the first to be buried there was the founder – Duchess Anna, later other members of the family[37]. People who rested here were, among others: Henry III, Henry V with his wife and daughters, and, in a splendid tumba, Henry VI.

36 Cf. chapter 4.4.

37 Information about ducal burials is contained in the manuscript [207, p. 155].

112. Sarcophagus of Henry VI; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

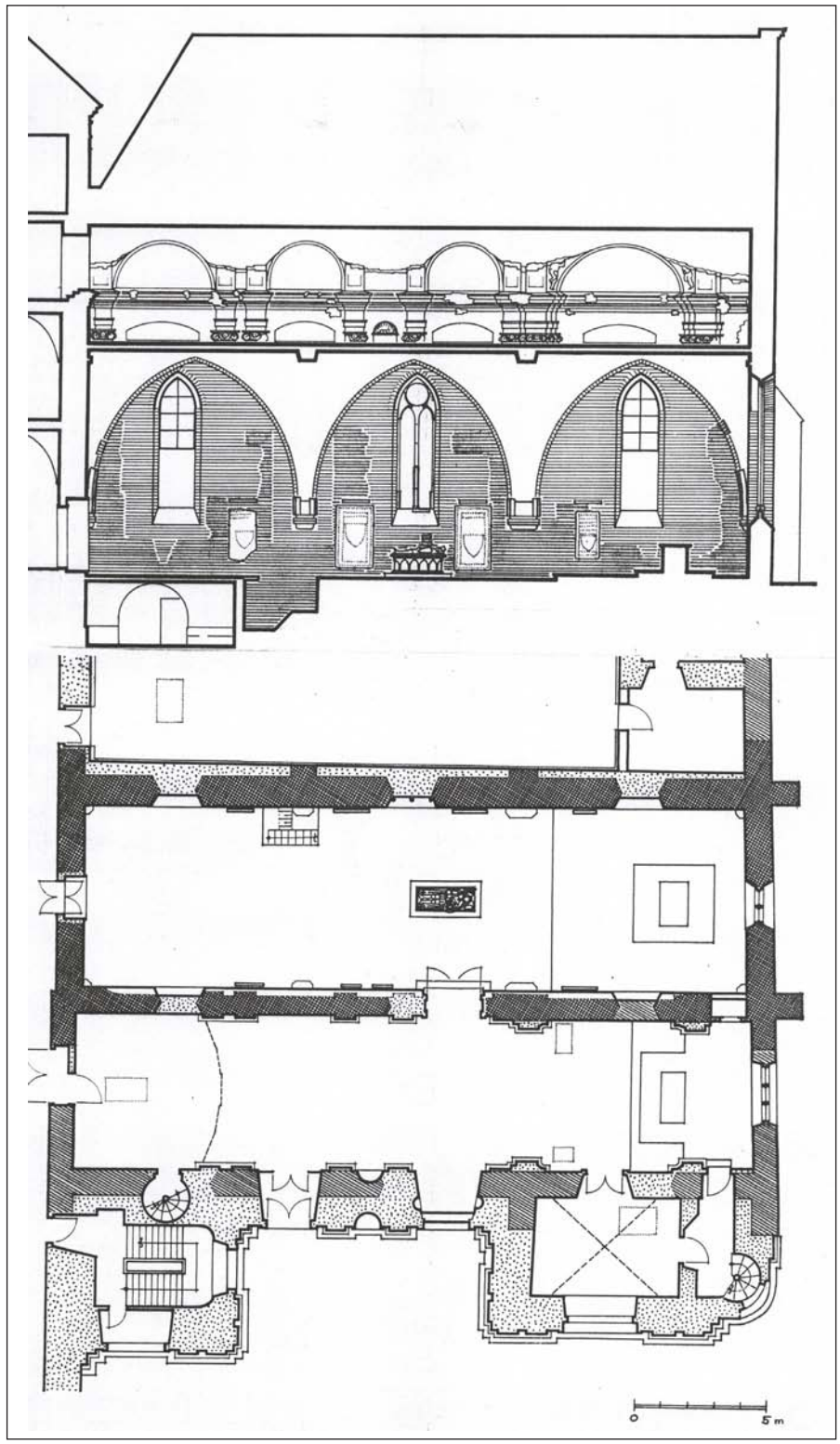
During the reconstruction of the church and monastery in the Baroque period, the tombstone was used as a base for the new floor. Henry VI's tumble was removed, only the tombstone with the figure of the prince was left – it was placed in a standing position in a wall recess. The wall connecting the church with St Hedwig's Chapel, in turn, became the place for an urn with the heart of Princess Karolina, the last of the Piast dynasty.

In 1810 the monastery was secularized, but a year later the buildings were given to the Ursulines, who manage the monastery to this day. In the 19th century, research began to find the lost ducal tombstones. The search brought some results; tombstones under the choir (1822), the grave of Duchess Anna (1857), and a fragment of an eagle plate in front of the chapel portal (1869) were discovered. Most of the tombstones were still under the embankment from the period of Baroque reconstruction. In 1874 the discovered tombstones of Henry III and Henry IV were placed at the sacristy and the tombstone of Henry V next to the grave of Duchess Anna. At the end of the 19th century, all tombstones were covered with a new floor. In the years 1935 and 1936, a marble plate was placed in the floor in front of the altar with a list of names of the Piast family members buried in the church [81, pp. 54–68]. The rest of the gravestones remained hidden until the second half of the 20th century.

The destruction during the Second World War unveiled part of the medieval architecture of the church interior. The reconstruction of the buildings was gradual. The works consisting of the reintegration of the Gothic gable and the renovation of the roof were carried out in 1957 and 1958 under the direction of Edmund Małachowicz. He took up the next stage of conservation activities nine years later as the municipal conservator.

The work began with archaeological research. The accrual of cultural layers caused the original floor level to be more than 2 m below the current level. For financial reasons, the whole embankment could not be searched, yet as many as nineteen tombstones could be retrieved. The discovery became the direct inspiration for the accepted concept of reconstruction of the church and the

113. Designed plan and cross-section of the Mausoleum of the Silesian Piasts; from the archives of the Małachowicz family



114. View of the nave of St Clare's Church (2014); photo: E.G.

chapel. It was decided to differentiate the two interiors in style in order to show the changes in their architecture.

The Mausoleum of the Silesian Piasts[38] was planned in the nave of the church. The Gothic interior corresponded in style to the exhibition arranged inside. It was therefore decided to remove the remains of Baroque stuccowork and give the whole thing a medieval character. The scarce iconographic material did not allow for an accurate reconstruction of the interior[39]. An anastylosis of discovered authentic details of vault ribs, mullioned windows, and supports made of granite were used. Preserved walls of Slavic bond with white painted joints were uncovered. The elements added were distinguished from the authentic ones by using a different building material. The walls were supplemented with contemporary brick. The outline of the mullioned window was reconstructed by means of a bent steel rod, into which the discovered authentic fragments were

38 Originally, the mausoleum was located in St Hedwig's Chapel, but none of the tombstones were in situ at the time of the discovery, and over time they were moved many times. It was considered that such a change would allow for better exposure of the records.

39 Two engravings from the beginning of the fourteenth century were found in the manuscript (from the monastery library of the Poor Clares), known as Innoc papae IV regul monast s. Clarae Wratisl. ...Lieutenant..: [81, s. 61; 208].

115. Architectural details of the interior of the Mausoleum of the Silesian Piasts: on the left – a composition of the mullioned Gothic window from recovered fragments of the authentic detail, the missing pieces were replaced with steel bars; on the right - illumination of the nave (2014); photo E.G.

incorporated. The interior was covered with a reinforced concrete ceiling, with the outline of the former groin vaults marked. Above, the attic rooms with visible remnants of the church's Baroque decor were planned. The level of former medieval floors was shown in the recess of the northern wall of the church.

The existing burial vaults and floor level outside made it impossible to restore the original interior height. The floor of the main nave was slightly lowered in relation to the adjacent chapel in order to symbolically mark changes in the interior architecture. The top layer of the floor was made of 19th century pavement slabs from the Old Town. The windows were glazed with white and red stained glass with motifs of the Piast Eagle. The tombstones found were preserved. The cracks were puttied, and the missing fragments were filled with terrazzo. Eight of the most valuable and best-preserved slabs were placed

116. Remains of Baroque decoration of the nave of St Clare's Church above the reinforced concrete ceiling (2014); photo: E.G.

along the walls of the main nave; the others were laid in the presbytery[40]. Each tombstone was supplemented with information and sepulchral inscription in Polish and Latin. Discreet lighting hidden in the recesses of the corbels was also designed.

It was decided to reintegrate the Baroque interior of St Hedwig's Chapel, which bore witness to the Baroque reconstruction of the monastery. Apart from stuccowork, a fragment of the main cornice was reconstructed according to preserved authentic details.

Most of the upper Baroque holes in the wall connecting the chapel with the main nave were bricked up, leaving cavities. These two interiors – of a completely different character – were separated by a decorative, contemporary grating with motifs of the Piast Eagle and the initial of Wrocław.

40 These were the tombstones of Duchess Anna, Dukes Henry III, Henry V and Henry VI as well as Anna, Margaret, Jadwiga, Ofka and Elizabeth (daughters of the dukes – the prior of the monastery).

During the implementation of the design, Edmund Małachowicz had problems with obtaining permission to conduct works on religious monuments. In 1969, the Presidium of the National Council refused to approve the plan to carry out works in St Clare's Church, so he had to demonstrate his determination and ability to construct appropriate arguments in order to complete his project. Since the execution of construction works on religious buildings required a positive opinion of the Department of Confessions, which often blocked the works, Edmund Małachowicz strongly emphasized that the Mausoleum of the Silesian Piasts was a state property rebuilt and developed by the conservator of the city of Wrocław[41] and thanks to that it was possible to complete the conservation of St Clare's Church and arrange an exhibition of medieval architectural relics.

From the conservation point of view, the Mausoleum of the Silesian Piasts was not a thorough reconstruction, but an original work of Edmund Małachowicz. The interior layout was radically changed by introducing a reinforced concrete intermediate ceiling. Many details that were not there before were added, e.g. the grid, lighting, and information boards. All the elements were not there by chance – they were the result of a well-thought-out concept of interior conservation and design. The aim was to render the atmosphere of the place and to expose the archaeological findings in a matching architectural setting.

5.6 Cathedral of St John the Baptist, 18 Katedralny Square (phase one)

There are many religious buildings in the area of Ostrów Tumski, but it is the Cathedral of St John the Baptist that is considered to be the most valuable monument in Wrocław. It was also the first building entered in the city's post-war register of monuments[42]. The history of the cathedral dates back to the early Middle Ages[43]. The Gothic form was created in the 14th and 15th centuries. Over the centuries, the building was rebuilt many times, which resulted in it bearing traces of many historical periods – such as the Renaissance and Baroque side chapels.

In the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, it was subjected to further restorations. During the warfare in 1945, it was significantly destroyed. After World War II, despite the complicated political and economic situation in the Republic of Po-

41 In his justification, he stated: "The reconstruction of the Piast Mausoleum: the object is the property of State Treasury; it was not handed over to the Ursuline Assembly and will be rebuilt and developed by the Conservator of the City of Wrocław". Lt. [202].

42 Register No A/2/5352/2, date of register 25 November 1947.

43 There are several hypotheses about its original form. According to E. Małachowicz, in the 9th century, in the place of the first pre-Romanesque cathedral, there was a single-aisle sacral building with an apse on the eastern side, which was the site of the Slavic rite. In the 10th century, it was replaced by a cross-shaped building – also with an apse from the east. E. Małachowicz also sees an analogy to the first form of Wrocław Cathedral in the 9th century castle church in Břeclev-Pohansk and the 10th-century cathedral in Poznań. [43, p. 40; 71, p. 161–176; 83].

land and the differences in conservation concepts, it was decided to rebuild it[44]. Marcin Bukowski, a lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture at the Wrocław University of Technology[45], became the manager of the first stage of reconstruction. Edmund Małachowicz began his adventure with the Cathedral of St John the Baptist in 1947 as a student, as he himself claimed. – He made inventory drawings as part of the architectural history exercises conducted by Marcin Bukowski [217]. The reconstruction of the Cathedral was a difficult and complex issue. Marcin Bukowski described "that the beginnings of security works in Wrocław had the pace and appearance of improvisation" [17, p. 141].

[...] The cathedral was a treasure trove of knowledge about magnificent architecture, the essence of Gothic forms [...] [225].

At that time, it was not a comprehensive reconstruction design, but a general conservation concept that emphasized the restoration of the building's utilitarian character in a form as close as possible to that of before the destruction. The basis was the surviving iconography (including photo-documentation from the inventory in the 1930s) and oral transmissions of German priests. The existing walls were reinforced, and the whole thing was covered with a new steel roof with tiles (1947–1948). Marcin Bukowski, in his concept of reconstruction, assumed the "examination of all possibilities leading to the preservation of historic elements so that the reconstruction could be avoided or at least utilized to a minimum extent" [17, p. 142]. Necessary additions were made while preserving the original material; for example, concrete additions to stonework or roofing with tar paper were avoided. Gothic was considered the dominant style in the interior. According to the then-prevailing view that Gothic interiors should have walls with exposed brick threads, all interior plasters were removed. New elements were avoided. The choir beam was an exception. The first stage of reconstruction was focused mainly on the interiors and structure of the building. The cathedral's ceremonial commissioning took place in an atmosphere of pride and enthusiasm in 1951. – it had become a symbol of the city rising from the ruins.

Optimistic moods accompanying the first phase of the cathedral's reconstruction changed dramatically in the following years. The Department of Confessions often impeded the implementation – it refused the consent necessary to carry out the construction works and limited financial subsidies[46].

To overcome this, architects and conservators had to resort to ploys[47]. In such a situation, Edmund Małachowicz started further works at the cathedral

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44 The view, formulated in the Athens Charter, that the reconstruction of a monument in a form imitating the original one should be treated as a falsification of history, influenced others to consider the idea of leaving this monumental building as a permanent ruin in the middle of the city, a testimony to its tragic history.

45 In the years 1946–1950, he was head of the Historical Architecture Department at the Wrocław Reconstruction Directorate. Lt. [116, s. 30–35].

46 The Religious Affairs Office operated until 1989. Mirosław Przyłęcki describes this administrative unit of an eminently political character as a branch of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and probably the Security Service. Cf.: Przyłęcki M. [119, p. 96]. Every application for the protection, renovation, and especially reconstruction of religious buildings had to be approved by this office in order for it to be the basis for implementation.

47 E. Małachowicz describes such a situation: "The author, who was the conservator of the city of Wrocław in the years 1965–1973 [...] advised the parson to throw a few bricks from the tower onto the sidewalk and immediately gave him an order to „secure" the area, i.e., to fence it, behind which scaffolding was set up without further official permits and so the next stage of work began" [79, p. 166].

carried out as part of the so-called investor order. In those days, this was possible despite one holding the title of the conservator of the city of Wrocław. The order concerned the restoration of the building's façade and was financed from church funds. Edmund Małachowicz continued the construction also after he ceased to be a conservator – subsequent design concepts were developed on his own initiative and implemented by a small executive group.

5.6.1 Western elevation (1968–1970) – restoration design

In the course of the work, we discovered that on the façade, there was an element characteristic of Western European cathedrals, the only one in Poland – the balcony in front of the western façade, from which the bishop blessed the faithful gathered. Unfortunately, the parson ran out of money, and we didn't reconstruct it. I'm not happy about that.

The works started in 1968 on the basis of an earlier design developed by the architect A. Holas (from Poznań)[48]. They were discontinued as a result of later discoveries of fragments of the historic stonework.

The work began with the removal of plaster and 19th-century clinker lining and the dismantling of the clock. That unveiled stone casings of an old Gothic window. In the lower part of the gable, hints of a door were found, which led to the terrace of the gallery previously located there. Under the clinker lining, there was a gable from the late 18th century. Initially, its restoration was taken into consideration, but it was decided that it did not have great architectural value, and the form of the gable will be difficult to reconcile with the overall Gothic character of the building. So, a decision was made to dismantle it with the hope that, similarly to the reconstruction of the churches on the Sand and St Giles, fragments of authentic Gothic stonework would be found. The assumption turned out to be correct – 42 fragments of a former gable destroyed by fire in 1759 were discovered during the works.

The elements that could be preserved were subjected to anastylosis during reintegration works[49]. The others served as a model for those made anew. Iconographic analysis and study of preserved walls became the basis for recreating general divisions of the gable. The profiles of the details were reconstructed based on the discovered fragments of the stonework. Some authentic fragments were built in, such as one and a half lesene segment or a fragment of sculptural decoration. The face and jamb in the lower storey of the gable and the cornice of the western wall at gallery level were supplemented. The authentic fragments and profiles were used to reconstruct the frieze and the main cornice.

Parts of the face of the wall were bricked with Gothic brick. Due to the lack of sufficient iconographic material, the gallery balustrade, as well as the mullioned window were redesigned in simplified forms referring to the historical ones[50]. In place of the former balcony, a roof terrace surrounded by a balustrade was made.

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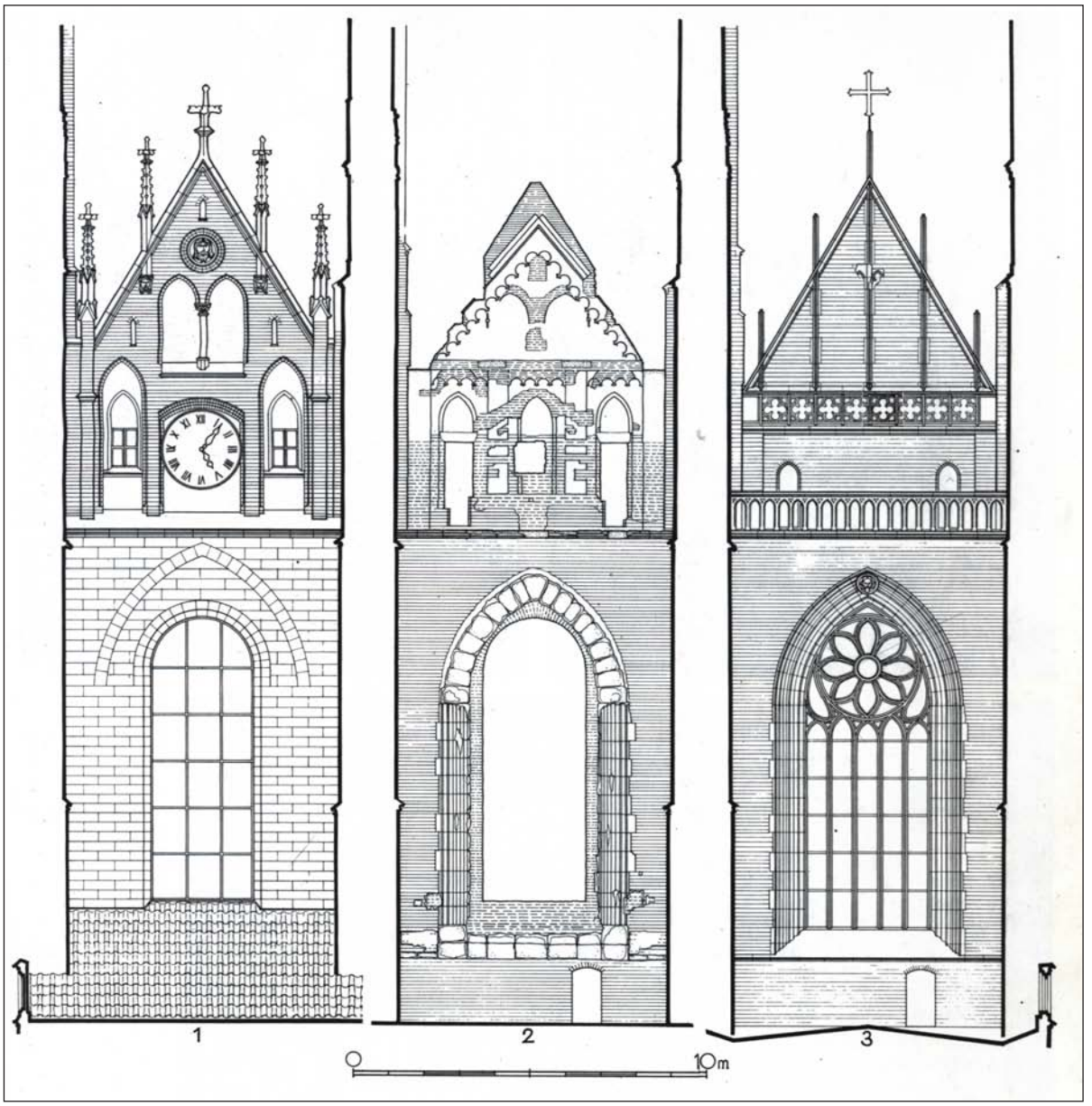
48 E. Małachowicz gives this date in his book [96, p. 212]. In the last edition of Wrocław Cathedral... he gives the date 1969. [79, s. 167]. The author of this monograph took the year 1968 as the date of starting works on the western façade of the cathedral in Wrocław: [203].

49 Based on F. B. Werhner's figure and an oil painting depicting the cathedral fire, 30 elements of the gable were identified. Fourteen of them were used in the reintegration works.

50 The balustrade and mullioned window were made by the design of A. Holas.



117. The western gable of Wrocław Cathedral: 1 – before maintenance, 2 – during maintenance, 3 – after maintenance (1970), developed by E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

As a result of the lowering of the atrial canopy, the façade was extended. The work as a whole was completed in 1970[51].

51 The decoration of the western gable elevation was not fully restored – only in general outlines. The author of the reconstruction expressed his hope that if reliable iconography or fragments of the stonework could be discovered, it could be reconstructed as a whole in the future. Lt..: [79, s. 169].

118. The western elevation of Wrocław Cathedral (the early 1960s) [236, accessed 20.03.2019]

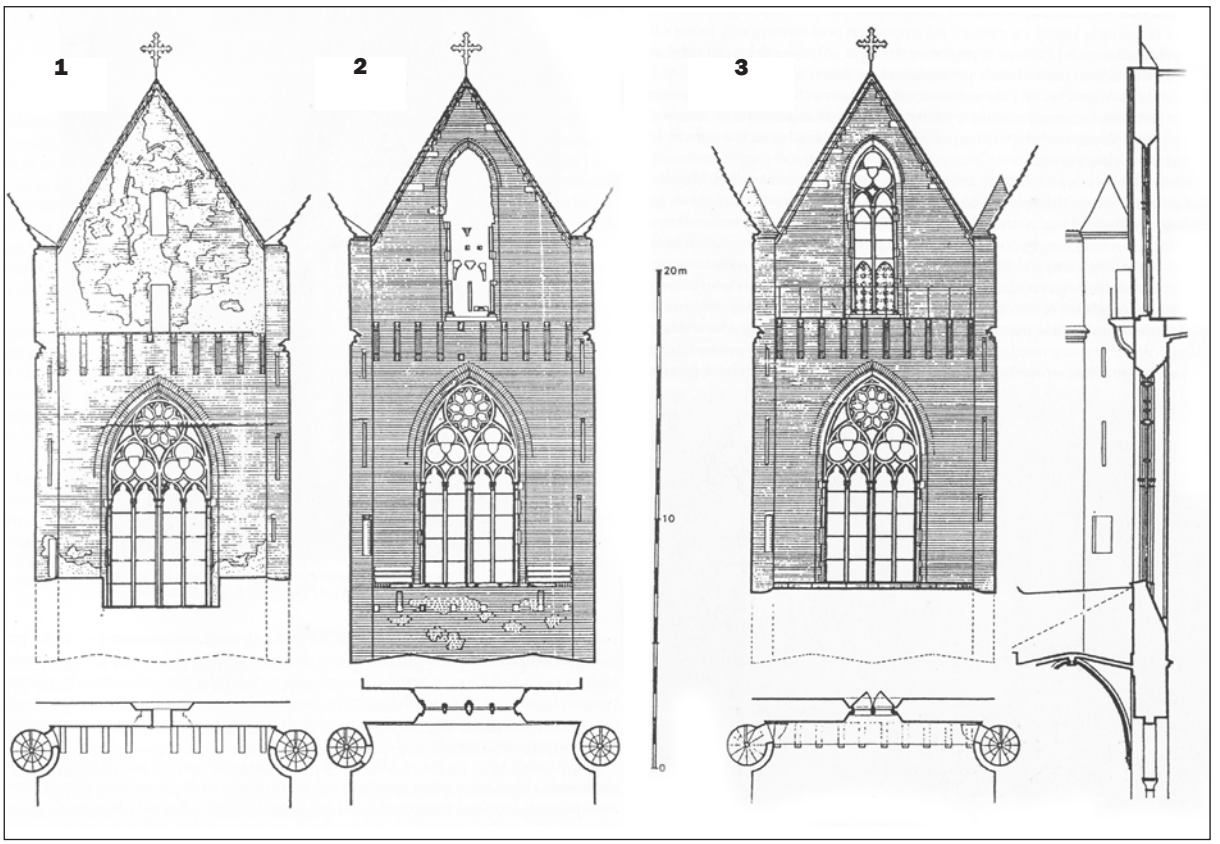
In the case of the reconstruction of the western gable, one can see a clear desire for stylistic uniformity, i.e., to give the façade a Gothic character – either by using authentic elements or copies reconstructed on their basis. The new elements were made based on general divisions resulting from the adopted conservation concept assuming the domination of one style. Therefore, it may be controversial to demolish the 18th-century gable, which undoubtedly represented historical value, and replace it with a modern form, only imitating Gothic. Similar feelings apply to the removal of the clock located on the western elevation since the Middle Ages[52]. However, one should take into account Edmund Małachowicz's argumentation in favour of the adopted solution – it was about aesthetic considerations and obtaining visual coherence of the church body.

52 "The idea of making a new clock came back in 1997, but it was abandoned in favour of a chiming clock, invisible and playing various melodies at full hours" [79, s. 310]. In 2013 it was restored in a traditional but openwork form made of metal by Marek Batycki's design.

5.6.2 Eastern elevation (1971–1973) – restoration design

The eastern gable of Wrocław Cathedral did not undergo such significant historical transformations as the western one. After the fire in 1759, the attic window was bricked up and plastered.

Before the research began, in the triangle of the eastern gable, one could have seen an outline of a slender Gothic window bricked up to the face of the wall from the exterior with a recess from the attic side[53]. On the basis of preliminary research, it was possible to conclude the existence of remnants of 13th-century stonework similar in detail to the main eastern window. Restoration work began with the removal of plaster and demolition of the brickwork – fragments of authentic stonework were sought to use as important elements shaping the conservation concept. The results confirmed the original assumption. About 50% of the jamb stone tracery bars were discovered in situ as well as other fragments of the window stonework (five elements). The lower parts of the window were made of Strzegom granite, the upper parts with a mullion – of sandstone.



119. The eastern gable of Wrocław Cathedral: 1 – before the commencement of research work (1973), 2 – after research and uncovering work (discovered fragments of the window), 3 – after the completion of the works; compiled by E. Małachowicz [80]

53 In his book [79], Edmund Małachowicz gives the date 1972 as the final date, the author adopted 1973, as this is how the Wrocław Cathedral design is dated. Design of the reconstruction of the window of the eastern peak, Wrocław 1973 [181].

It turned out that on the eastern elevation there is a huge bricked up window.
With the passage to the terrace, the prospect of restoring the cathedral to its late Gothic architecture with all its elements was slowly emerging [225].

Traces of the hinge hooks and slotted iron divisions in the wall indicated the window being originally divided into three storeys. Traces of a fire that destroyed the upper sandstone part of the mullioned window were also found. The retrieved fragments of the window were examined – their purpose was to provide an appropriate form for the newly discovered window in the eastern gable.

In the meantime, the cornice made of Strzelin granite blocks was renovated. The replacements for destroyed parts were made out of the Strzegom Granite due to its greater durability. A decision was made to do so because it was thought that a slight colour difference between the two materials would not be visible at this height. The missing gallery bracket was also replaced and the brick roofs of the staircase towers were reconstructed. The gallery slab was restored in the form of a reinforced concrete one with an imprint of the boards on the underside, due to the lack of any indication of the original material from which it was made. A simple iron railing surrounded the whole thing. Based on the analysis of the preserved remnants and a stylistic analogy[54], the reintegration of the large Eastern window started.

After juxtaposing the fragments of the discovered stonemasonry, it turned out that the Gothic window decorating the triangle of the eastern gable was bipartite with a three-storey division. The division into storeys was related to the former roof truss system and attic platforms. Stonework profiles decorated with servants, with bases and (most probably) capitals, were glazed from the outside on the second and third floors. The lower storey was filled with two leaves of wooden or iron doors leading to the gallery. A design was created in which the restitution of the mullioned window with elements of anastylosis was assumed, using the retrieved fragments of stonework. The lower storey of the window was composed of details preserved in almost 90%[55] – it consisted of a bipartite arch closed from the attic side with two iron doors. The middle storey composed of details preserved in 60% consisted of a bipartite glass arch glazed from the outside.

No preserved details of the upper storey were found, it was reconstructed on the basis of 13th-century mullioned windows in the eastern elevation – their shape and proportions indicated this form of the window as the most probable.

The replacements for lower and middle parts were to be made of Strzelin granite for architectural, historical, and durability reasons. The upper part starting from the crests of the middle part – made of sandstone according to the preserved traces. The door leaves were made of iron sheet, woven with strips of flat iron, nailed with decorative nails. The glazing of the middle and top sections was designed as made of 6–8 mm thick raw glass, with a division made of lead glazing bars to differentiate and wave the glazing plane. The lower parts of the were preserved.

The terrace above the ambulatory was lowered, which revealed the sill of the large eastern window. This action was dictated by the desire to better expose the eastern gable as seen from below – from the perspective of a passer-by. The roof over St Mary's Chapel was also lowered, and its height was determined by

54 A drawing of a large eastern window (the chancel) from the first stage of the cathedral's reconstruction was attached to the design and was used as comparative material. Lt. [181]

55 The data concerning the percentage of preservation of particular fragments of the eastern window were assumed based on the technical description of the window design by: [181].

pre-war iconography. At the end of the works, the roof was covered with copper sheet[56].

The study and research work carried out by Edmund Małachowicz resulted in the discovery of a previously unknown detail of the eastern gable, an early Gothic window, and a cantilevered gallery. Practical considerations also influenced the shape of the façade – it was about exposing its greatest assets and striving for the integrity of the gable body. The conservation procedures applied were aimed at maintaining the Gothic character of this part of the façade by using authentic fragments from that period, as well as making additions based on preserved parts. The reconstruction of the mullioned window was adopted based on a stylistic analogy to the window of the western gable with a greater degree of preservation of the original matter. In the absence of iconographic records concerning the form of some elements (e.g., the gallery railing), it was decided to use a simplified form, made of contemporary materials.

In the following years, Edmund Małachowicz continued to carry out design and conservation works related to the cathedral, but they had no design documents. From 1974 to 1977, the roofing of the nave and the side elevation chapels were replaced where Monk and Nun tile was exchanged for copper sheet[57]. The tower top above St John's Chapel was rebuilt. The remains of the Baroque cornice were dismantled and replaced with a Gothic one. The stone finials on the buttresses of the southern nave and the façade of the two-storey chapel of the northern façade were renovated (with the lantern of the dead reconstruction design implemented in later years). The 14th-century window of the nave on the northern side, bricked up in 1795, was uncovered.

The work carried out by Edmund Małachowicz between 1967 and 1977 focused on restoring Gothic architecture to the façades of Wrocław Cathedral. Later, as an employee of the Wrocław University of Technology, he continued his scientific research and restoration work related to it.

Summary

The nature of Edmund Małachowicz's work as a municipal conservator was fundamentally different from the nature of the work carried out later on, which we know today. At that time, the activity was not limited to issuing permits and guidelines for designs – it also included direct supervision of investments. Moreover, the conservator had financial resources, as well as the possibility of searching for investors and users of historical buildings. In the case of Edmund Małachow-

56 The professor said that the roof started to turn green after six years, while the tops he designed on the cathedral towers have still not become covered with patina. The oxidation rate of the sheet metal surface depends on the degree of air pollution: the larger the air pollution, the faster the process occurs.

57 As a result of an archival search carried out by the author, it was not possible to find design documents for the described works by the northern elevation. This suggests that the works could have been carried out by classifying them as necessary to ensure the safety of passers-by and that part of the design decisions could have been made on an ongoing basis in the course of progressive discoveries made in situ and supplemented by iconographic material. On this basis, E. Małachowicz made a number of studies reconstructing the appearance of individual fragments of the cathedral – they can be found in the publication [78, 79].

120. Eastern elevation of Wrocław Cathedral (2014); photo E.G.

icz, it should be stressed that he conducted his design activity on an exceptionally large scale. Scientific research was an extremely important part of his work. In his studies, he strived for maximum protection of the authentic substance – he applied supplements to the necessary extent, which determined the survival of the monument. He usually distinguished all elements added by the use of a different building material than the original one but without exaggerated contrasts. He treated historical objects as elements of the exhibition of cultural values. He personally took part in archaeological and conservation research and tried to incorporate the fragments of architectural detail he found then into his design concepts – even if this involved a new design.

Edmund Małachowicz summed up the stage of his work as a city conservator as a constant struggle for monuments "with the dismantling and demolition boors

and the Department of Denominations"[58]. The actions leading to the removal of some historic buildings from the city landscape were not presented to him in the form of applications. As Mirosław Przyłęcki, the then provincial conservator, describes it, "they were usually more camouflaged, and their implementation was most often controlled by granting or refusing to grant funds" [this was the case with the Mausoleum of the Silesian Piasts; ed. E.G.], "police and construction bans, various "cleaning" actions" [this was the case with St Clare's Mills; ed. E.G.] etc. "Fortunately, the policy in this area was not coherent and consistent. It had its regional varieties, which conservators tried to use and sometimes even successfully influence" [119, p. 105]. Attempts to save the monument were associated with risks. The subjection of the conservators to the chairman of the Presidium of the National Council (the equivalent of the city's president) made every decision about the fate of the property a political one[59]. There are known cases of resignation or removal from the position of conservators of various levels due to their opposition to the desire to demolish an object of historical value. An example is the resignation of Piotr Biegański in 1954 in protest against the demolition of the Ujazdowski Castle walls[60].

In the case of Edmund Małachowicz, the object which caused him to lose the function of the municipal conservator in 1972 was the Dominican convent located at 18/19 St Catherine Street. The complex was entered in the register of monuments and, in accordance with the law in force at the time, only the Ministry of Culture and Art could grant permission for its demolition (and thus its removal from the register). In 1969, by a decision of the central conservation authorities, funds were allocated for the reconstruction of the building and its adaptation to the State School of Music. However, the work did not start – on 7 February 1972, at a meeting of the National Council of the City of Wrocław, it was decided to demolish fragments of the monastery walls. Edmund Małachowicz learned about the resolution „indirectly" and immediately took steps to protect the monument.

Correspondence spanning almost two months between the conservation office of the City of Wrocław and other state institutions that may stop the demolition of the building had begun. The first letter was addressed to the District Housing Board of Wrocław Old Town – it contained a decision of the conservator of the City of Wrocław, according to which it was forbidden to carry out any demolition work on the Dominican convent without the consent of the competent authorities. The then President of the National Council of Wrocław, Stanisław Panek, was also informed about the reasons for suspending the execution of the Presidium's order. Due to the lack of reaction, Edmund Małachowicz informed about the irregularities with a request to intervene in a letter to the Culture Committee of the National Council of the City of Wrocław and to the Ministry of Culture and Art. Moreover, he notified that "on 29.03.1972 he turned to the President of the National Council of the City of Wrocław, advising about the facts and the legal regulations in force as well as the procedure, and asking for the matter to be settled. Instead of a reply, the Presidium decided to remove the conservator from his post, informing him that he could resign. In the light of this undoubted

58 See Biographical note, il. 8, p. 20.

59 The provincial conservators were subordinate to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Provincial National Council (which was the equivalent of a voivode).

60 Piotr Biegański – architect, conservator of the city of Warsaw in the years 1947–1954.

I learned about the plans to demolish the Dominican monastery from the demolition company. Nobody notified the conservator because why would they... The demolition company simply did not want to carry out this order due to lack of capacity... [225].

violation of the rule of law, the Conservator will not take advantage of the offer submitted and will continue the legal proceedings available to him"[61]. The Ministry's reaction came too late – on 27 April 1972, the National Council dismissed Edmund Małachowicz from his post as Conservator of the Monuments of the City of Wrocław. In the end, however, the Dominican monastery survived and was rebuilt in 1975–1980 by the design of Jadwiga Maciejewska from the PP PKZ.

Edmund Małachowicz was succeeded by Krystyna Pilch (she held this position until 1974). Then the office was liquidated and all duties were taken over by the voivodeship conservator[62].

61 Fragment of a letter dated 22 April 1972 from Edmund Małachowicz to the Ministry of Culture and Art; from Maciej Małachowicz's archives.

62 The post of municipal conservator in Wrocław was re-established in 1995 and was taken over by Katarzyna Hawrylak-Brzezowska.

121. The letter on the basis of which E. Małachowicz was dismissed from the function of the Conservator of the City of Wrocław; from M. Małachowicz's archives

Wrocław, dnia 24 kwietnia 19 72 r.

PREZYDIUM RADY NARODOWEJ
m. Wrocławia

Or-V-110-b/30/72

Obywatel
Dr inż.arch. EDMUND M A Ł A C H O W I C Z
Wojewódzki Konserwator Zabytków
dla m. Wrocławia

Działając na podstawie § 1 rozporządzenia Rady Ministrów z dnia 20 marca 1970 roku w sprawie obsadzania i zmian na stanowiskach pracowniczych w radach narodowych oraz w przedsiębiorstwach, zakładach i instytucjach podporządkowanych radom narodowym / Dz.U.Nr 7 poz.58 /- Prezydium Rady Narodowej miasta Wrocławia na posiedzeniu w dniu 24-go kwietnia 1972 roku p o s t a n o w i ł o odwołać Obywatela z dniem 31 lipca 1972 roku ze stanowiska Wojewódzkiego Konserwatora Zabytków dla m.Wrocławia.

Urlop wypoczynkowy za rok 1972 należy wykorzystać w okresie wypowiedzenia.

Przewodniczący
Prezydium Rady Narodowej
m. Wrocławia
Stanisław Panek

Do wiadomości:
1. Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki
   Warszawa
2. Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza
   Komitet Dzielnicowy Wrocław
   Stare Miasto
3. Wydział Kultury Prezydium Rady
   Narodowej m.Wrocławia

WDD – 1772/D – 7.000 – A4

6 Design work carried out during the period of employment at the Faculty of Architecture at the Wrocław University of Technology

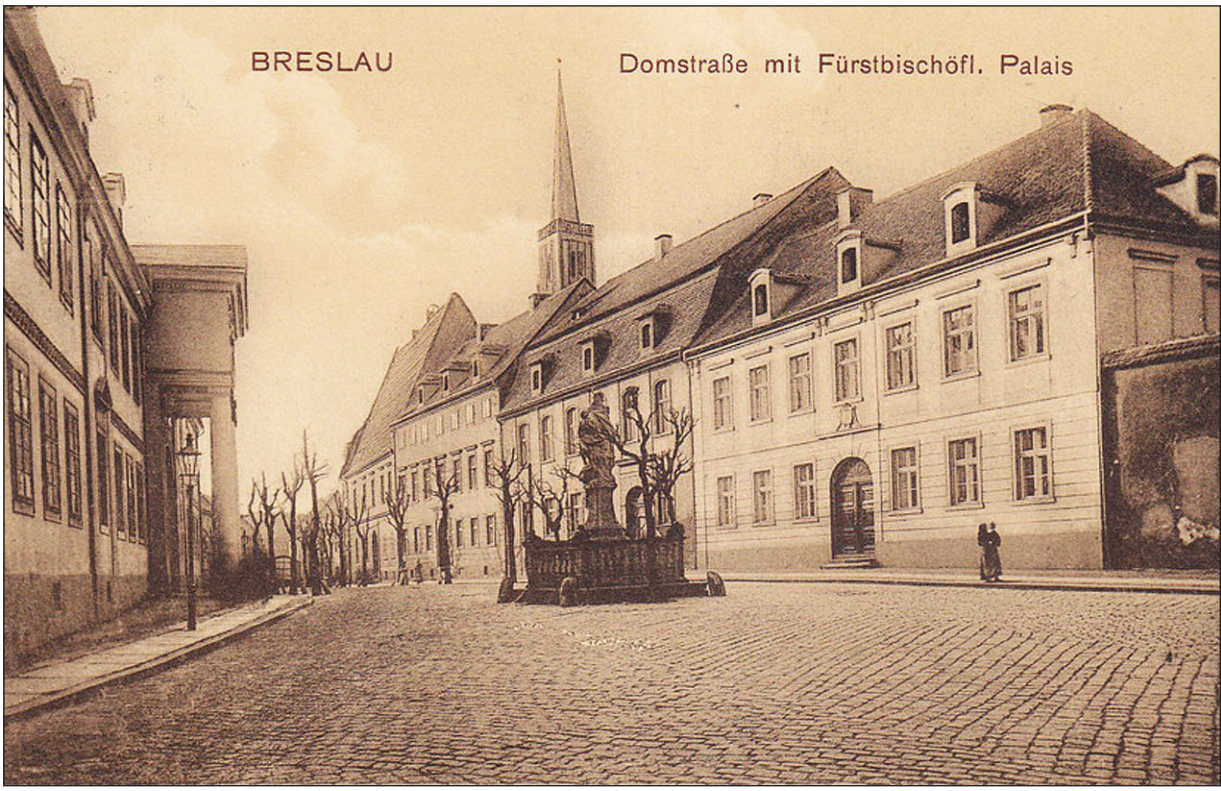
After he had finished his duties as the municipal conservator, Edmund Małachowicz was employed at the Faculty of Architecture at the Wrocław University of Technology. For the first few years, his activity was mainly focused on teaching and scientific work, which resulted in 1973 in the conferring of the postdoctoral degree and the position of assistant professor. The design and conservation activities of this period were twofold. Edmund Małachowicz carried out studies as an independent designer (e.g., commissioned by the Wrocław Curia) and as part of the operation of the Institute of the History of Architecture, Art, and Technology. He prepared various types of reports on the research work carried out, finalized in a design study or a set of design guidelines presented in a drawing form.

6.1 Northern frontage of Katedralna Street № 10, 12, 14, 16, Katedralny Square 19, St Idziego Street 9 (1976–1981) – reconstruction and adaptation for the House of Retired Priests

Since the Middle Ages Katedralna Street has been an important link between Ostrów Tumski and the city. Already in the 13th century, it was about 20 m wide and its axis was a line connecting the main portal of the cathedral with the Tumski Bridge [96, p. 66]. There were buildings on both sides of this street – mostly church or monastery property.

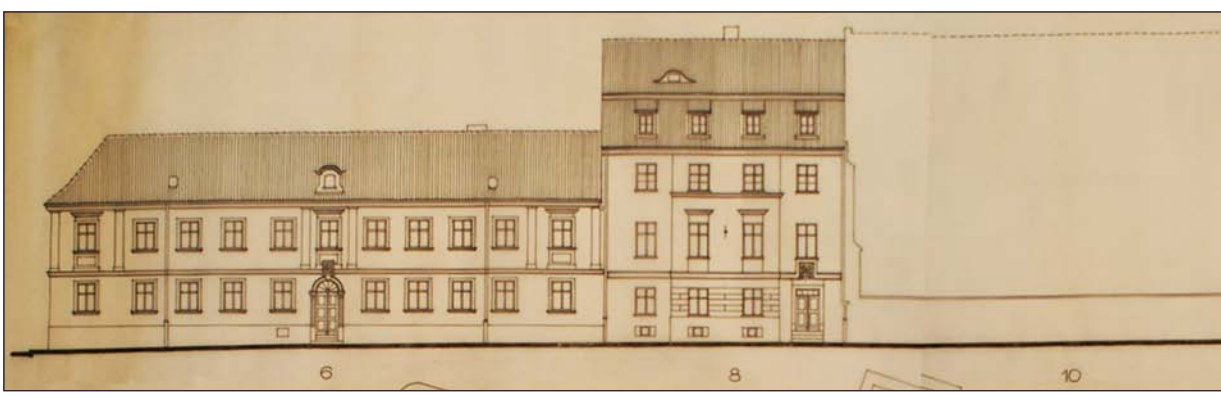
The block designated Katedralna, św. Idziego and Kapitulna streets, as well as Kościelny and Katedralny squares, housed the former canonries of the Cathedral Chapter. Until the middle of the 13th century, wooden buildings prevailed. In the third quarter of the 13th century, a school was established on the premises of today's property № 16 in Katedralna Street [96, pp. 59–62]. Plots № 12 and 14 were built-up with two houses in a gable layout with a narrow front. A canonical mansion was built on the premises of plot № 10. From the side of św. Idziego Street, there were farm buildings[1].

1 A. Żurek, in: *Leksykon architektury Wrocławia*, R. Eysymontt, J. Ilkosz, A. Tomaszewicz, J. Urbanik (ed.), Via Nova, Wrocław 2011, p. 414.



122. Katedralna Street (1900) [236, access: 16.11.2013]

Gradually, wooden houses were replaced with brick ones. These were usually one storey, single-floor, single- or triple-chamber buildings with a hallway in the middle (or on the side), covered with a gable roof with a ridge layout [96, p. 86]. The turn of the 14th and 15th centuries brought a change in the building alignment of Katedralna Street, which was gradually narrowed by buildings № 12–14, and also by those with the number 4, 6, 8, and 10 in the 16th and 18th centuries – and consequently formed an arc. The changes in the architecture of the buildings were mainly visible in their front elevations: they were given successive Renaissance, Mannerist, and Baroque style forms. At the beginning of the 17th century, houses № 12 and 14 were rebuilt into wide ridge houses.



The buildings of Ostrów Tumski were destroyed by two fires – in 1759 and 1791. C.G. Geissler rebuilt the houses at 12, 14, and 16 Katedralna Street in the classicist spirit, but with the preservation of the surviving Renaissance and Baroque portals. In the 18th century, a house in the part of the block facing Kanonia Street was also built [5, p. 27]. The architecture and urban planning of the street survived in this shape until World War II[2]. In 1945, a significant part of the block was destroyed[3]. Houses 12, 14, and 16 were the most heavily ruined. Due to limited financial resources, the frontage was not included in the scope of the works in the first stage of reconstruction [96, p. 228]. In 1948 the houses in 9 St Idziego Street and 10, 14, and 16 Katedralna Street were demolished – in the last two, a one-storey façade wall was left as a fence, with preserved elements of window stonework and portals[4].

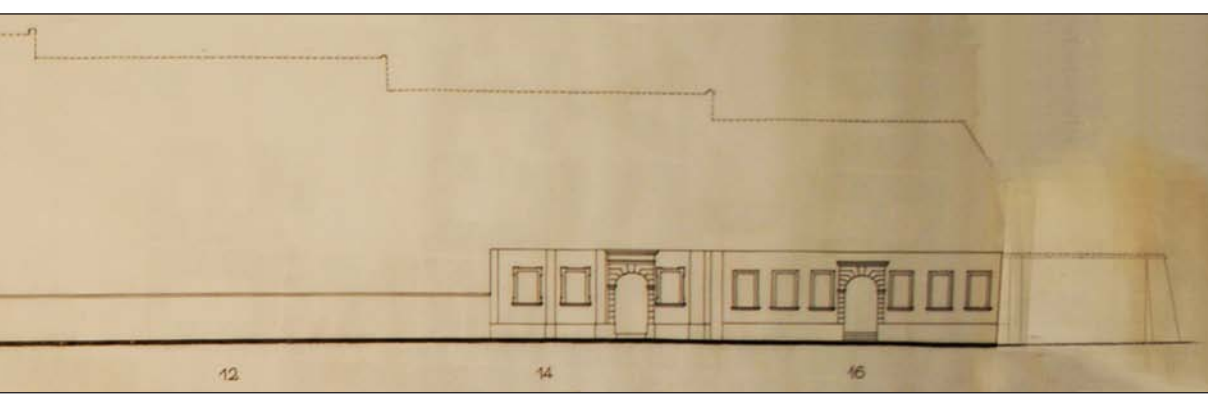
Edmund Małachowicz had been interested in the reconstruction of the northern frontage of Katedralna Street since his work in PKZ, when he worked on a historical-spatial study for the reconstruction of Wrocław's islands. In 1961, the design for development of these islands assumed reconstruction of the historical building line of this frontage. The topic returned in the second half of the 1970s – Edmund Małachowicz received information about the planned construction of a complex of tower blocks in place of the former Chapter buildings. Thanks to his intervention, the curia of Wrocław managed to recover the area and thus enable the continuation of preparatory work for reconstruction. In 1976, a study was created covering the northern frontage of Katedralna Street and the part located next to Katedralny Square and św. Idziego Street – with the adaptation of the whole complex for the House of the Retired Priests.

As an archaeologist I cooperated with the Department of Archaeology at the University of Wroclaw. We've been conducting research at the site of the current Pensioner's House. We discovered some relics in the cultural layers: layers of stone nuts, fragments of architectural details, stained glass. The professor often came to us. He was very interested in it [223].

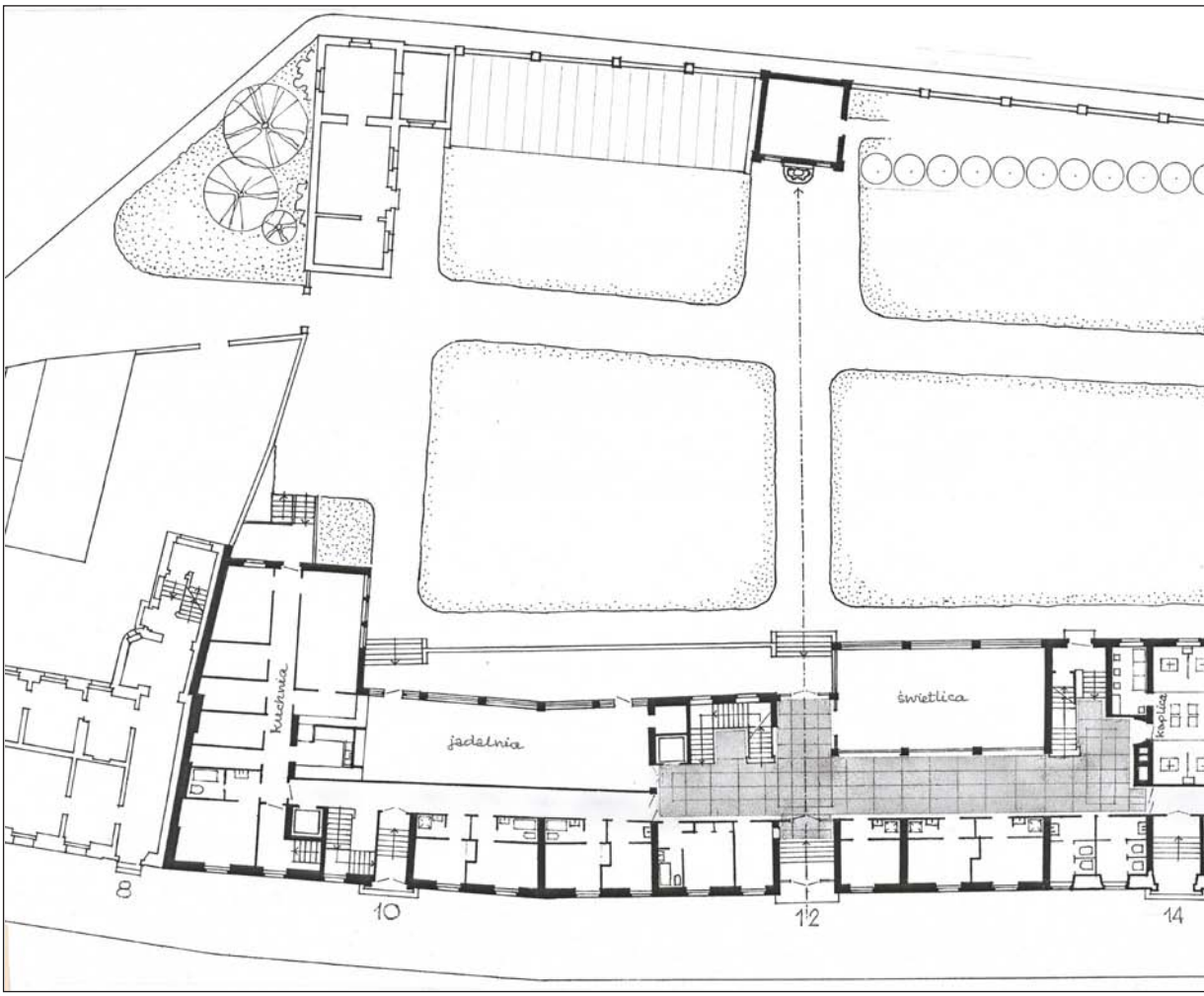
2 Cf.: the reconstruction of the island layout and settlement complex from the beginning of the 13th century in a study by E. Małachowicz [96, p. 41]; the plan of the foundations of the cathedral school from the 13th century. [96, p. 59]; B. Weiner's plan from 1562. [96, pp. 84–85]; J.D. Schleugen's plan from 1741. [92, p. 38]; Endler's plan from 1807. [92, p. 47]; G. Schubert's plan from 1826. [92, p. 59]; the plan with the designation of historic buildings from the Municipal Building Archive from 1935 pp. [92, s. 92, 93].

3 The progressing destruction of Wrocław and Ostrów Tumski was described in detail day after day by Father Paul Peikert (1884–1949) in his book [110].

4 Currently, the house at 1 Katedralna Street is under construction. The design (arch. E. Małys) assumes the reconstruction of the historical façade.

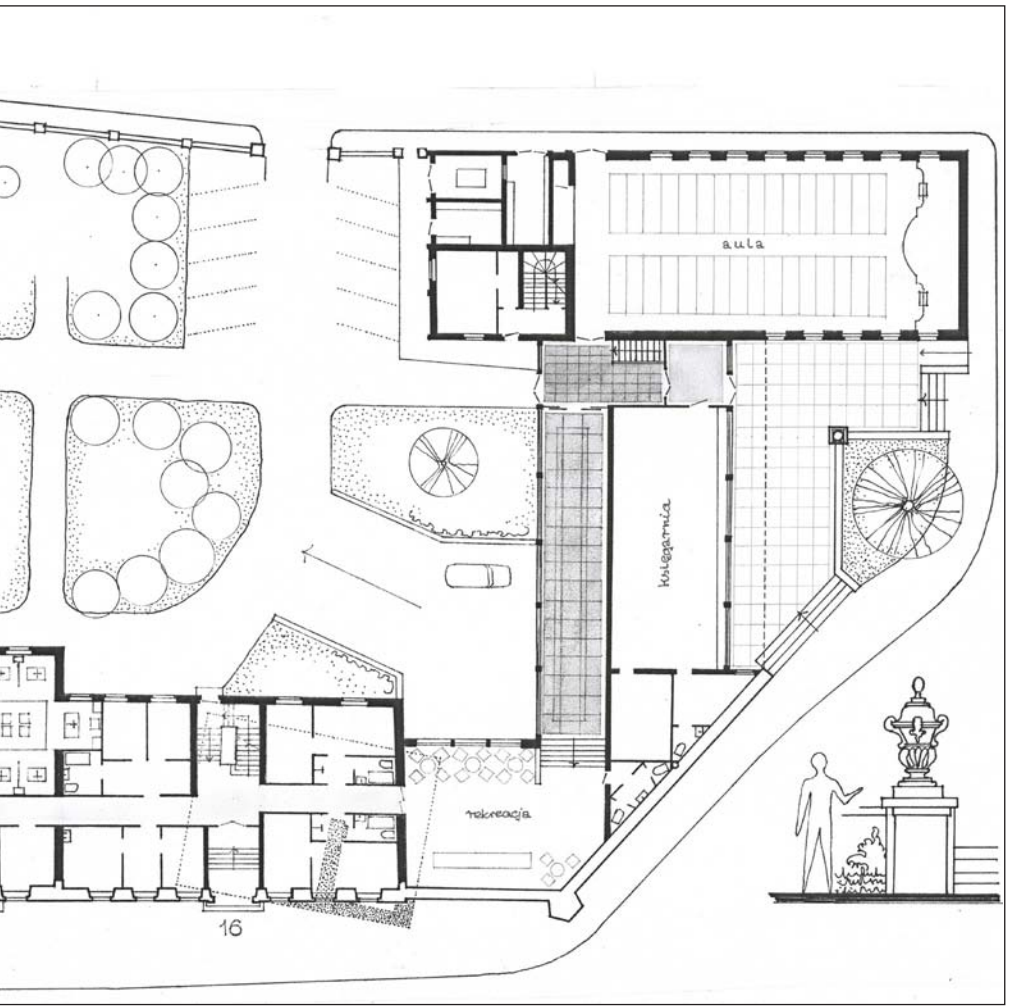


123. Inventory of the northern frontage of Katedralna Street (early twentieth century) with an indication of the shape of the former buildings, compiled. E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family



Edmund Małachowicz began his preparations for the design work with an inventory of the existing condition and study drawings in order to reconstruct the silhouette of the building. In the next stage, the necessary archaeological research and archival query were also conducted. The information obtained in this way enabled him to create a design that would allow placing as much emphasis as possible on the architectural and urban values of the existing development complex, enriched by the newly designed architecture.

The developed concept assumed the maintenance of the historical building line of Katedralna Street, known from before the destruction in 1945. An exception was the building next to Katedralny Square (№ 19), where a bookstore was planned. In this case, the building was moved a bit back into the block, but the trace of the former building line was to remain readable thanks to the elevation of the area along the fence line and the diversification of the surface with stone slabs. It was also decided to maintain the old dimensions of the buildings. The conservation design assumed the reconstruction of houses № 14 and 16 – with

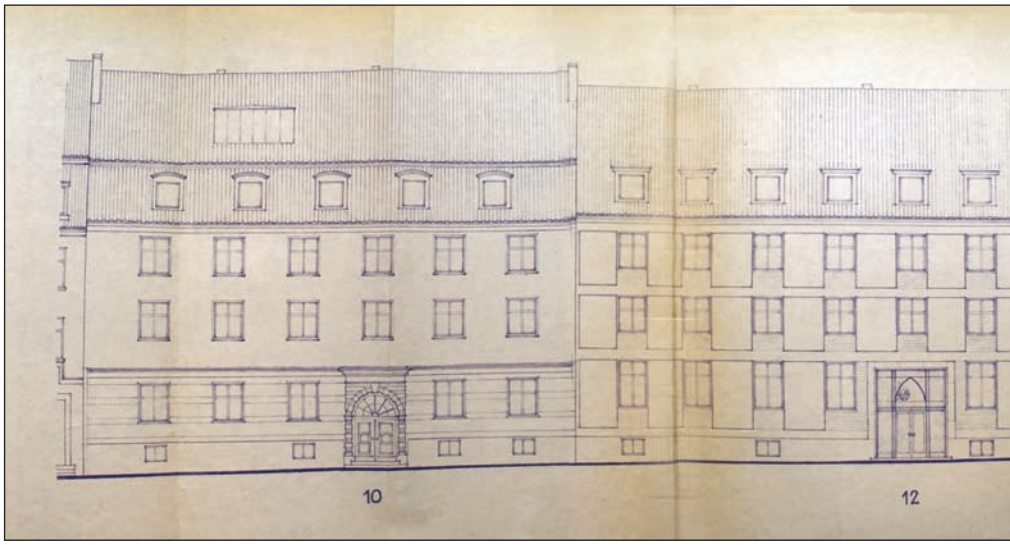


124. Designed ground floor plan of the House for Retired Priests; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

the preservation of the authentic parts of the walls and portals from the early 17th century.

The houses № 10 and 12 were supposed to refer to the historical records in the outline of their body, and the way of solving their façade. It was decided to limit the introduction of contemporary architectural forms to the necessary minimum in favour of stylized but simplified architecture. As Edmund Małachowicz described, bringing out more contrasting forms of new contemporary architecture would be pointless, detrimental to the content of this ensemble and contrary to the conservation demands [178, s. 3]. It was also decided not to introduce a service function on the ground floors of the buildings facing Katedralna Street due to their residential and representative character.

It was decided to preserve the relics of the old architecture discovered during the archaeological research and to display them in a specially created reserve, in an underground room under the bookshop. It was also planned to expose the remains of the 13th-century cathedral school (№ 16) and visualize them in the cellars and on the pavement.

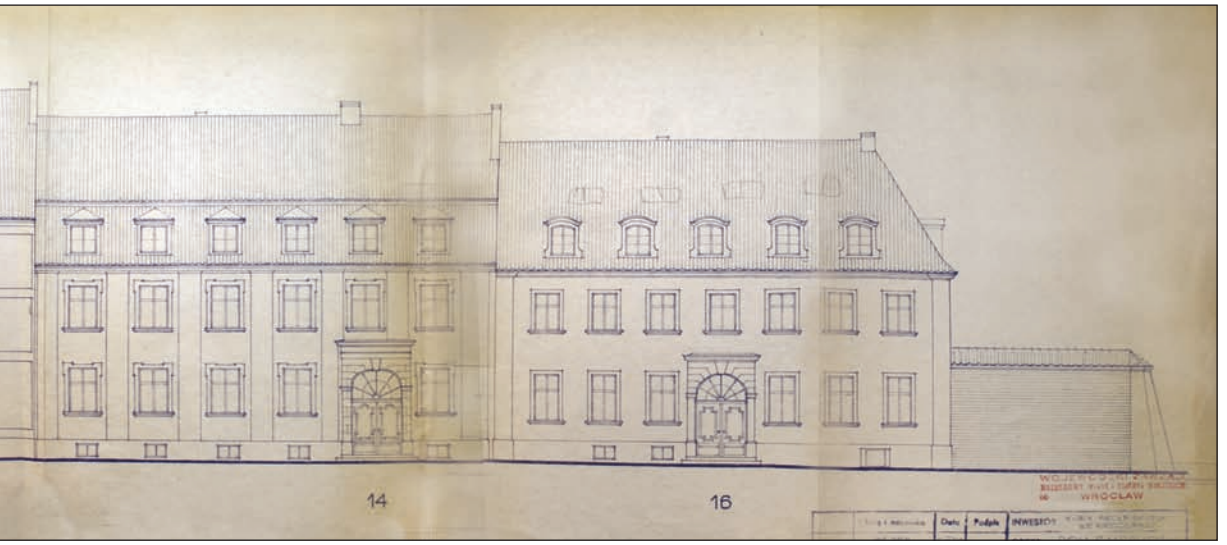


It was decided to place the recovered fragments of the Gothic tympanum in the building № 12. The portal of the house № 10 was designed for restitution based on iconography and preserved fragments.

The design assumed the reconstruction of six buildings: 4 in the northern frontage (even) of Katedralna Street (№ 10–16), the house next to Katedralny Square (№ 19), and next to św. Idziego Street (№ 9) – they were all connected by a catwalk. Each had a separate staircase and a separate entrance. Houses № 10 and 12 were three storeys high, and № 14 and 16 – two storeys. The building facing Katedralny Square and św. Idziego Street had one overground storey. All of them have gable roofs designed in a ridge system. The main entrance to the House for Retired Priests complex led through a portal with a historical tympanum in building 12, where the porter's lodge was located. A small part of the block interior was dedicated to a utility square. The rest of the area was used to set up a French-type garden, with the main avenue located on the axis of the main entrance. On the side of św. Idziego Street there was a garage and a greenhouse with a baroque wall built-in. The area was surrounded by a brick fence covered with ceramic tiles. The whole installation was to be illuminated by lanterns placed on brackets on building façades [178, Fig. 1].

It was planned to use the existing Gothic cellars and rebuild the damaged vaults there. In addition to the archaeological reserve, they were to house some of the necessary utility, technical, and storage rooms, and from św. Idziego Street also a sanitary sewer. In buildings 10–16, at the side facing the street, guest rooms were located. From the garden, rooms for common use were designed – two common rooms and a dining room connected to a terrace. The kitchen was placed in a one-storey annexe from the side of the yard[5]. The buildings were connected by a common corridor that ended with a recreation room located in the corner of the one-storey part of the complex in Katedralna Street.

5 Its roof had a public terrace.



125. Frontage design from Katedralna Street [178]

The pavilion, located next to Katedralny Square, was functionally divided into two parts. The front was to be occupied by a bookstore with the necessary auxiliary rooms. The part facing the garden had a foyer connecting the buildings in Katedralna Street and the house in St Idziego Street, where a chapel was placed, as well as utility and technical rooms. The remaining floors of the buildings were intended for the residents' apartments. In the part located at 9 św. Idziego Street, there were supposed to be staff apartments in the attic. The two highest houses, № 10 and 12, were equipped with passenger lifts. It was estimated that the design, with a development area of 1922 m2, will allow obtaining 4552 m2 of usable area and 21 180 m3 of cubature [178, p. 5].

In terms of construction solutions, it was planned to combine traditional methods with modern technologies. In order to support the new building walls, the existing basement walls were to be used after they had been strengthened with a reinforced concrete rim. Most of the load-bearing walls were designed as brick; the rest were concrete. The ceilings were based on transverse walls. Due to the planned extension of the bays of the houses 10 and 16, it became necessary to design a 1.25 m long cantilever at the back, carrying external curtain walls made of light aerated concrete. The new ceilings above the ground floor and higher floors were planned to be made in Ackerman technology. The staircases were designed as reinforced concrete. The houses at the street side were covered with wooden gable roofs with ridge layout covered with flat tiles. The one-storey bookshop building was closed with a roof covered with galvanized sheet metal. At the front side, a pitched roof with Monk and Nun tiles was designed, and at the side of St Idziego Street, the house was covered with a high hip roof also with Monk and Nun tiles.

The façades were designed by differentiating their architecture in each building included in the complex through the use of different divisions and textures of plaster[6]. The surviving fragments of the authentic stonework were laid into the

6 The ground floor of house 10 was rusticated. The façade of building № 12 was formed by rectangular fields interrupted horizontally by ceilings. The front of house № 14 was reconstructed

front elevations of the houses at the side facing Katedralna Street. The main entrance of the House for Retired Priests is an exception – it is a rectangular opening similar in size to the neighbouring portals, with regular divisions of large glazing. Contemporary forms were introduced in the bookstore building (from the side facing Katedralny Square) and in the elevations facing the yard. They were in the form of large glazings embedded in metal frames opening up public spaces to the garden. The terrace was lined with stone slabs and its edges with broken stone. Wrought iron balustrades of French windows and terraces complemented the elevation from the garden side. In the chapel of the building in św. Idsziego Street, the design proposed rectangular, elongated windows connected by a window ledge and enclosed with simple frames.

126. Katedralna Street with the Church of the Holy Cross, view from the Wroclaw Cathedral, (2014); photo: E.G.

The interiors were designed with a contemporary character. The walls were finished with plaster, and in the sanitary rooms, covered with glaze. The floors were designed as made of staves or wooden mosaics and in the hallways of living rooms of PVC flooring. In the case of rooms intended for common use, they were expected to be covered by separate interior design. The bookshop was planned to serve as an exhibition for a 16th-century wooden, polychromed ceiling transferred from Więzienna Street.

Modern installations were also used, including mechanical ventilation in the kitchen and dining room[7]. Gothic wall in the corner of Katedralna Street and Katedralny Square was cleaned from the plaster – as a result, a brick bond was revealed. The medieval way of grouting was also reconstructed and the crest was covered with tile. Only the buttress, plinth, and crowning cornice were plastered.

The work on the reconstruction of the House for Retired Priests was completed in 1981. It can be regarded as an echo of the post-war reconstruction, and the whole project as restitution. Filling the void in the continuity of the frontage was a necessity from the point of view of the urban integrity of Katedralna Street. The adopted direction of conservation activities ensured a harmonious continuation, as contemporary details with forms clearly contrasting with the character of historical buildings were treated here as accents that did not stand out from the architecturally stylized background.

quite faithfully on the basis of preserved remnants and iconography. The façade of building № 16 was made in forms simplified in relation to the historical form: the rustication of the ground floor was omitted and the detail was simplified, i.e., no Baroque bands or window cornices were reproduced. In his book [79], Edmund Małachowicz presents drawings of the northern frontage of Katedralna Street – he juxtaposes the condition before the destruction in 1945 and after reconstruction. They show an almost faithful reconstruction of the façade of building № 16 However, the simplified version described above was implemented. Lt..: [96, insert between p. 240 and 241].

7 A water supply and sewage system was designed for the entire building complex. The gas installation was planned only in the kitchen, serving the dining room in house № 10. The complex was to be supplied from its own transformer station located in the western part of the building facing św. Idziego Street. A heating substation enabling connection to the municipal network was also designed [178, p. 8].

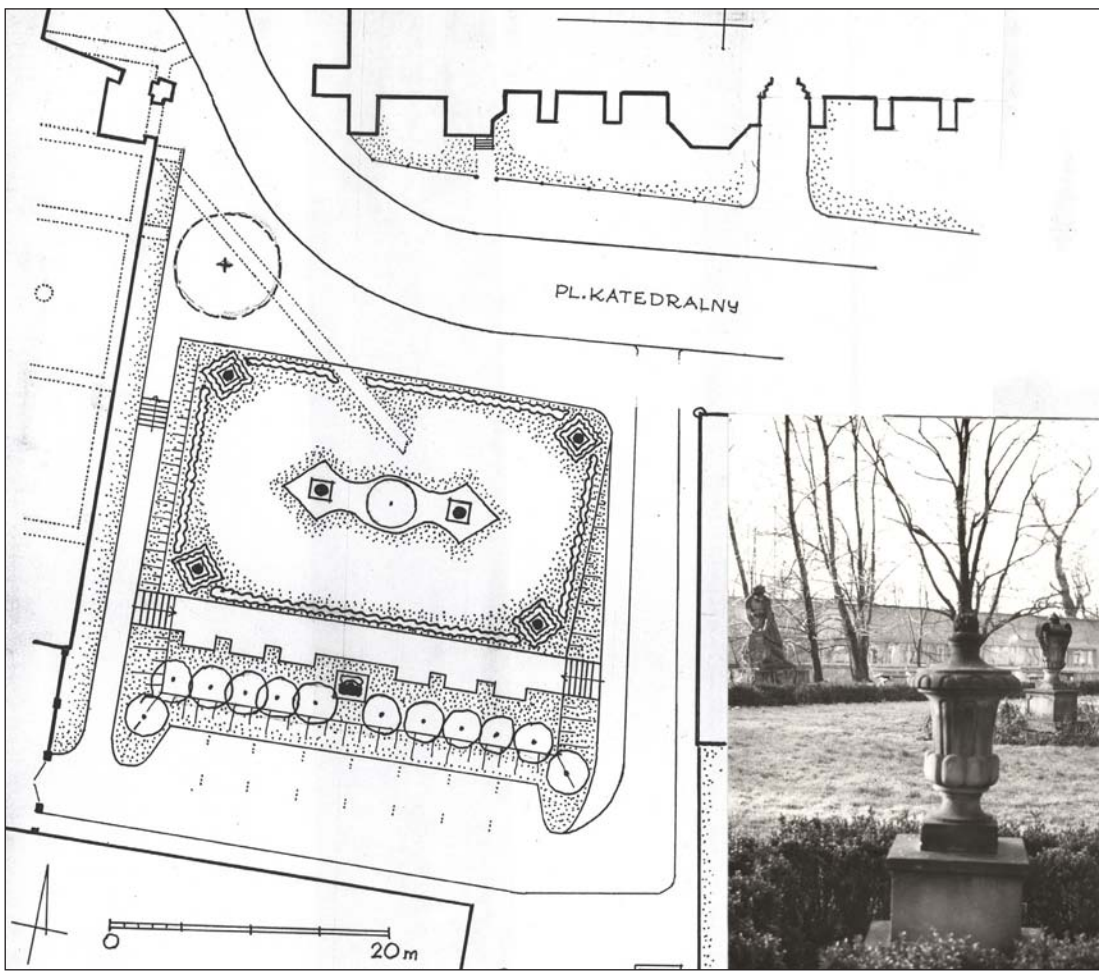
127. Katedralna Street, from the left: 12, 14 and 16 (2014); photo E.G.

6.2 Ostrów Tumski, 11 Kanonia Street – parish house (1974, 1975), Katedralny Square

The proceeding that Edmund Małachowicz classified as an undertaking integrating and bringing order to the area of Ostrów Tumski [92, p. 262] was the conversion of the building at 11 Kanonia Street into a parish house. The building was built in the second half of the 19th century. (probably around 1870) and was part of the Buhl & Pohs carpentry workshop. It had quite a simple architectural form and a pseudo-classical modest detail.

128. View of the southern elevation of the building at 11 Kanonia Street with a fence; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

129. A plan of a small garden complex on Katedralna Street between 1 and 5; from the archives of the Małachowicz family



During World War II, the adjacent building at 13 Kanonia Street was destroyed and later demolished in 1954 and 1955. In this way, a vacancy in the street frontage was created, revealing the empty southern gable wall of Kanonia 11 – as a result, it became an element closing the perspective of the Kluskowa Gate[8].

In 1974 Edmund Małachowicz created a design for the reconstruction of the southern elevation with a historicist form and pseudo-classical detail. In addition, he proposed to complement the building with a stylized fence. The plane planted in the corner was to complement the composition of this fragment of Ostrów Tumski.

Another proposal made by the professor to improve the visual amenity of the closest surroundings of the Wrocław Cathedral was the design of a small garden layout, using transferred historical elements of small architecture. A small square located at the south-western corner of the temple, surrounded by buildings belonging to the Pontifical Faculty of Theology, was transformed into a place of exposition for Baroque vases situated in strict geometric order[9]. This made it possible to expose the historical street furniture in an easily accessible public place and was a compositional complement well suited to its surroundings.

6.3 Quarter between Uniwersytecki Square, Kuźnicza Street and Uniwersytecka Street (1977) – design study and guidelines for reconstruction

As part of the study and design works carried out by Edmund Małachowicz at the Institute of the History of Architecture, Art and Technology, a study of the possibilities of land development opposite the entrance to the main building of the University of Wrocław was created[10] – an area in a triangular block delimited by the southern frontage of Uniwersytecki Square (№ 2–14), the eastern frontage of Kuźnicza Street (№ 36–42), the northern frontage of Uniwersytecka Street (№ 7, 7a, 8–18) and the western frontage of Więzienna Street (№ 14).

In the Middle Ages, the area was part of the buildings forming the left bank castle of the Piast dukes [81]. Kuźnicza Street was an important communication route in Wrocław on the north-south axis at the time. In the 13th and 14th centuries, on both sides of Uniwersytecka Street there was a Jewish quarter[11].

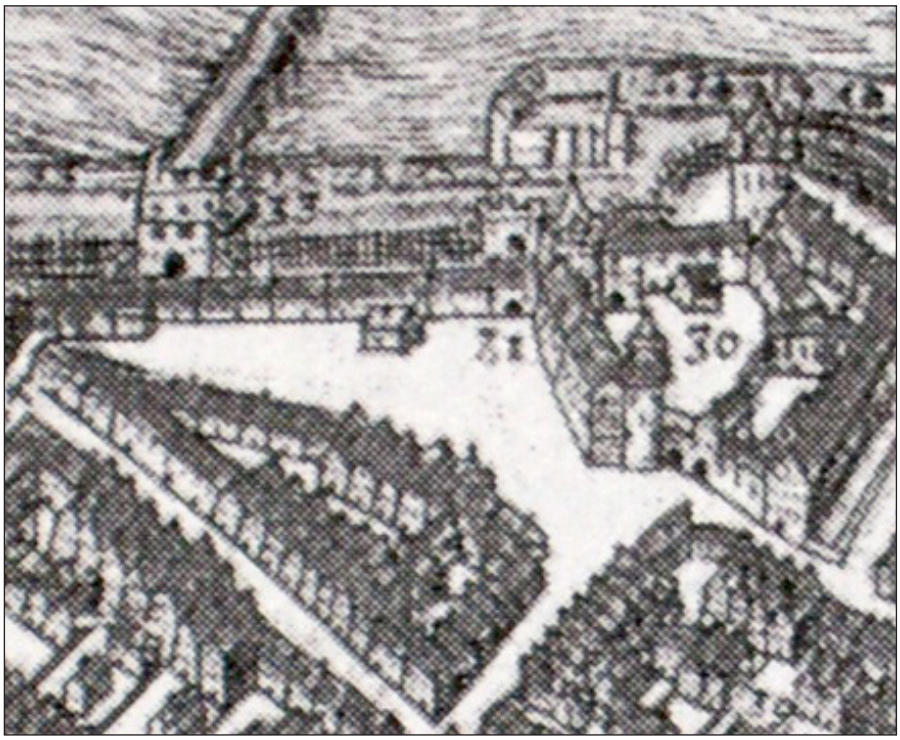
In the 15th century, the castle was rebuilt and given a character more elegant than defensive, with the southern elevation having an architecture similar to burgher houses. The southern frontage of Uniwersytecka Street was brick at

8 The existing classicist portal in the building at Kanonia 11 was slightly moved from its original position.

9 The square in the 1960s was the foreground of the Polish Academy of Sciences building. Since 1968 the Institute of Low Temperature and Structural Research was located there – until 1993 when it was moved to Okólna Street.

10 The co-author of the study was arch. Andrew Ilow.

11 Although the Jews were expelled from Wrocław between 1454–1455, Uniwersytecka Street has long preserved the name of Żydowska Street (Judengasse).



130. Fragment of an axonometric view of the square from the Braun-Hogenberg Atlas of 1587 [33, s. 88]

that time, while the northern one was wooden – in case of necessity of defence, it could form an easily clearable foreground of the castle. More elegant buildings were built in Kuźnicza[12] Street. In 1551 a defensive bastion was built north of the castle grounds forming a part of the town fortifications.

During the Renaissance, the buildings did not undergo any fundamental changes. In 1670 the castle was given to the Jesuits, who converted it into a college. Gradually, they acquired other areas, e.g., the former stables (1703) or several municipal buildings (1728) – thus, the whole complex was created while maintaining the former course of Kuźnicza Street and the passage in the Imperial Gate emphasized by the tower. It was then that a trapezoid-shaped square was created, which, together with the strong vertical articulation of the college front, gave the effect of shortening the perspective (looking from the east) and optically widening the space on the west side.

The 18th century brought numerous modernisations of façades and the construction of new buildings in the spirit of the so-called *Zopfstil* (40 Kuźnicza Street, 15 Uniwersytecka Street, 8 Uniwersytecki Square)[13].

At the beginning of the 19th century, the nearby fortifications were demolished. In 1811 the Jesuit college was liquidated, and a state school was estab-

12 Traces of this building were discovered on plot № 41. Rafał Eysymontt describes it as a two-bay building initially, to which one bay from the courtyard side was added during the Renaissance, a two-axis three-storey building with a simple gable [33, pp. 87–106].

13 Zopfstil – a term dating back to the early 19th century, sometimes called the Rococo of Neoclassicism, because it formed the transition phase between these styles in German architecture in the years 1760–1790.

lished. The surrounding buildings were houses owned by small craftsmen and merchants. In the 1840s, construction revival and gradual development of areas previously occupied by fortifications took place. The construction of the University Bridge (1866–1869) increased the investment attractiveness of Kuźnicza Street, which gradually began to change its character from poor, mainly residential, to elegant – thanks to commercial and residential buildings. The proximity of the University was conducive to the construction of houses with premises for rent, as exemplified by the tenement house at 7 Uniwersytecki Square [47, p. 61].

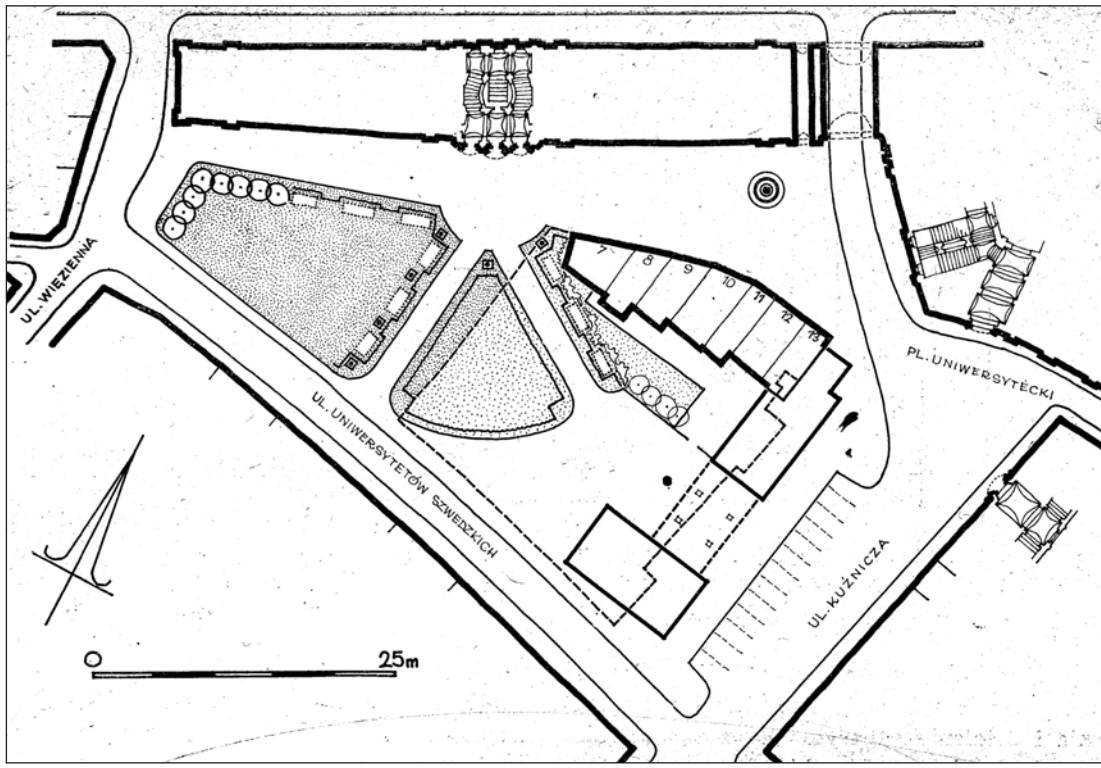
At the end of the 19th century, Kuźnicza Street was broadened in connection with the introduction of tramway traffic. The interior of the block was gradually built up with outbuildings. In 1891, at the corner of Uniwersytecka and Kuźnicza streets, a residential and commercial building with shops and a restaurant was built according to the design of W. Tilgner. [47, s. 126]. Eight years later – a monumental department store and apartment house designed by J. Wittke [155, p. 113, 114]. It occupied plots at 14 Uniwersytecki Square and 36/38 Kuźnicza Street. The impressive buildings in the eastern part of the quarter clearly contrasted with the simple and poor architecture of houses in its western part. Therefore, at the beginning of the 20th century, there were designs to transform the whole area and create a complex of buildings functionally linked to the University[14]. Even though in 1902, the western part of the block was transferred to the university, none of the designs were implemented. Near the Imperial Gate, a fencer monument by H. Lederer was erected in 1904, crowning the Art Nouveau casing of a stone basin with a fountain. In 1939 the western part of the quarter belonging to the university was demolished.

During World War II, the university building was destroyed in about 40%, and the buildings of the neighbouring quarter as much as 50% [99, p. 6]. After the end of the war, the most urgent works were carried out to protect buildings from collapse. In 1947, the General City Stimulation Plan was developed by the Wrocław Planning Office for the needs of the Exhibition of the Recovered Territories held in Wrocław. Kuźnicza Street was incorporated into the system of the so-called stimulation axes in the city, thanks to which the surface was renovated, lighting was installed and the area was cleared of debris [118, p. 71]. The quarter in question remained, in a way, on the sidelines of activities aimed at rebuilding Wrocław. Most of the ruined buildings were demolished. The houses at Uniwersytecki Square № 7, 8, 10–13, and Uniwersytecka Street № 11/12 and 13 were left. The remaining area was developed with greenery.

In 1968, Edmund Małachowicz, then still a conservator of the city of Wrocław, prepared a design for the development of the part of the block [92, p. 227]. He proposed three radial avenues, which converged at the main entrance portal to the University building.

Along one of them, he placed stone Baroque garden sculptures representing the four seasons of the year (from the first half of the 18th century) brought from the destroyed park in Barszów (Lubin district) and reintegrated by stonemason

14 Many famous Wroclaw architects worked on the designs of the quarter reconstruction: Max Berg (1909, 1918), Karl Grosser (1911–1917), Richard Gaze, and Arthur Roth (1936). All of them assumed the demolition of all the existing buildings of the quarter. Lt..: [2; 155, s. 115–118].



131. Design of development of Uniwersytecki Square (1968) by E. Małachowicz [92]

K. Bochenek according to the model by sculptor G. Koch[15]. In addition, the design assumed the preservation of the buildings facing Uniwersytecki Square. The building line facing Kuźnicza street was moved back, thus obtaining a parking space. It was also proposed to restore the building line in the eastern part of the block in the form of a building with an arcade in the central part, which opened a view of the University's main portal. The other two houses on Uniwersytecka Street were demolished together with part of the annexes. This part of the design has never been implemented.

Slowly, further decapitalization of the buildings took place. In 1976, an analysis of architectural and urban planning values was carried out, presenting schematically three versions of the development and revalorization of the said block, and proposing a more detailed study of the development of the entire block and the adaptation of the preserved architecture as a compilation of all the previously presented variants [99].

All presented versions of land development had some fixed elements, namely: the demolition of outbuildings inside the block, preservation and adaptation of the sequence of tenement houses at 7–13 Uniwersytecki Square and 11/12 and 13 Uniwersytecka Street for residential and administrative functions, building up the area from Kuźnicza Street and leaving a square with the fencer monument in the middle. The interior of the block, the square in front of the main building of the University, and part of Kuźnicza Street were planned to be

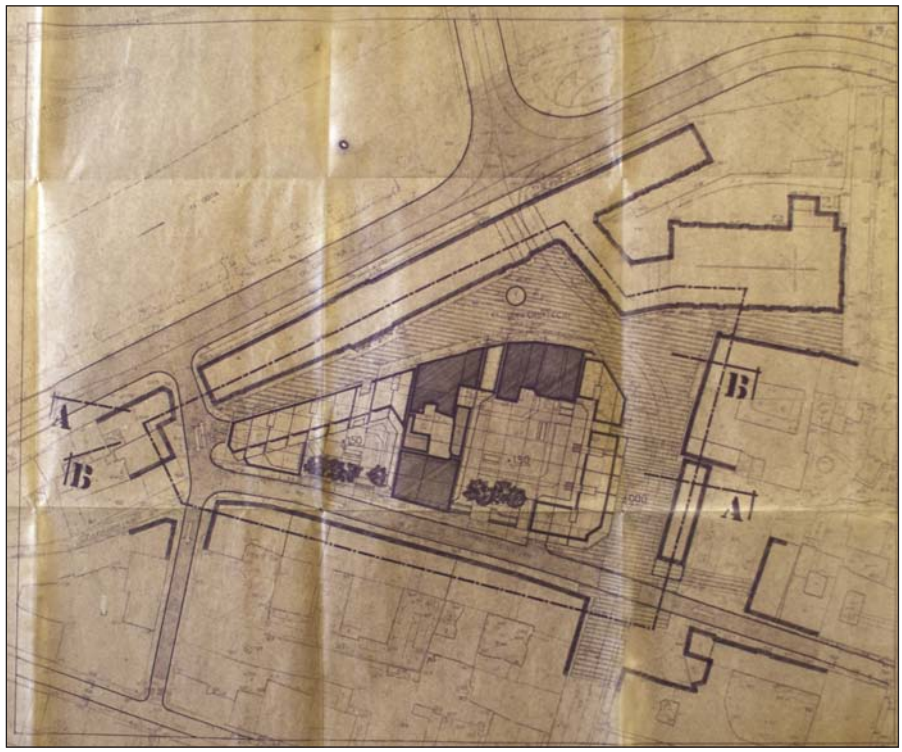
15 In 2008 the sculptures were moved to the garden of the City Museum in the former Royal Palace.

132. Condition of the buildings in the southern frontage of Universitecki Square (end of the 1970s) [236, access: 26.04.2015]

used exclusively for pedestrian traffic. Uniwersytecka Street would become the access street.

Regardless of the chosen development option, in the first stage of the possible implementation of the investment, the preserved tenement houses had to be renovated and adapted to the new function. Then it was planned to reconstruct the historical route of Kuźnicza Street. It was stressed that the "possible introduction of buildings of a relatively large cubature in the immediate vicinity of the monumental architecture of the university would introduce the danger of not very favourable context of industrialized forms of construction, not always of a sufficiently high standard" [99, p. 8]. It was considered that the area might not be sufficiently large to meet the needs of housing development. Three variants of development solutions were developed, each of which took into account a different approach to shaping the space.

The first variant resembled the design by Edmund Małachowicz, discussed earlier, with the correction of the viewing axes bypassing the existing buildings of Uniwersytecka Street. A new part of Kuźnicza Street was designed, according to that, its course would go along the historical line of development. The ground floors were planned to house service functions, while the upper floors were planned to house flats or hotels. The disadvantage of this variant was the unresolved problem of parking, and the need to transform the rear elevations of the buildings in Uniwersytecki Square, not previously intended for such an exhibition. The continuity of the northern frontage of Uniwersytecka Street was not restored either.



133. The concept of the spatial development of Uniwersytecki Square resulting from the compilation of the three existing variants [99]

The second proposed variant assumed, apart from the conditions mentioned above, the introduction of a new cubature also in the western part of the block. This would ensure the continuation of the frontage of Uniwersytecka Street, from the surviving tenement houses to the intersection with Więzienna Street. The area opposite the main portal of the University building was left free of buildings. Functional solutions were adopted according to the first variant. Due to difficulties in meeting the lighting norms in the planned development in Uniwersytecka Street, it was assumed that its future utility programme would include functions that did not require direct sunlight in the rooms. Parking spaces were planned along Uniwersytecka Street or on the ground floor of the building. However, the problem of giving more representative forms to the rear elevations in the surviving tenements remained.

In the third variant, it was planned to restore the rows of façades along the former building lines with only a small clearance or clearances leading to the inside of the block, as well as to introduce an underground car park with an exit ramp from Więzienna Street. The interior of the block was planned to be used for greenery and recreational areas. The problem with ensuring proper sunlight in the rooms eliminated the possibility of using the buildings for residential purposes. Due to the proximity of the University it was proposed to allocate the whole block to an academic-administrative centre with an internal forum. The ground floors were to perform public service functions.

Building densely around the entire inner block interior for creating a student culture centre was also considered, which was an echo of the pre-war concepts

134. Uniwersytecki Square, view from the west (top), view from the east (bottom) (2014); photo: E.G.

for the development of the block. However, this option was considered unlikely to be implemented and was not included in the study.

None of the prepared block development variants have been implemented[16]. The part located on the western side of the quarter has so far remained a green square, whose clear border is formed by the unattractive gable walls of the houses at 7 Uniwersytecki Square and 13 Uniwersytecka Street[17]. The plots along Kuźnicza Street are currently occupied by buildings belonging to the University with modern architecture.

6.4 Cathedral of St John the Baptist, Katedralny Square (phase two)

The Wrocław Cathedral was a building constantly present in the circle of Professor Edmund Małachowicz's interests and conservation activities. His studies and research resulted in a number of designs aimed at reintegrating its medieval silhouette. Over the years, he had been trying to make them happen.

6.4.1 Spires of the western towers (1989–1991) – design for reconstruction and adaptation to a vantage point

The problem of rebuilding the spires of the two towers in the western elevation was, for a long time, the subject of interest of Edmund Małachowicz, which he repeatedly expressed in his publications on the architecture of Wrocław Cathedral[18]. In the 1970s. The professor developed a design to rebuild the tower spires, which „had been lying there" almost until the end of the 1980s. The building permit was granted by the main architect of the City of Wrocław, Stefan Mikołajczyk, on 24 June 1988.

I made a design of the tower spires. It was hanging on the wall at the parson's place because they had no money for implementation. Cardinal Gulbinowicz saw it once and said that it needed to be built [225].

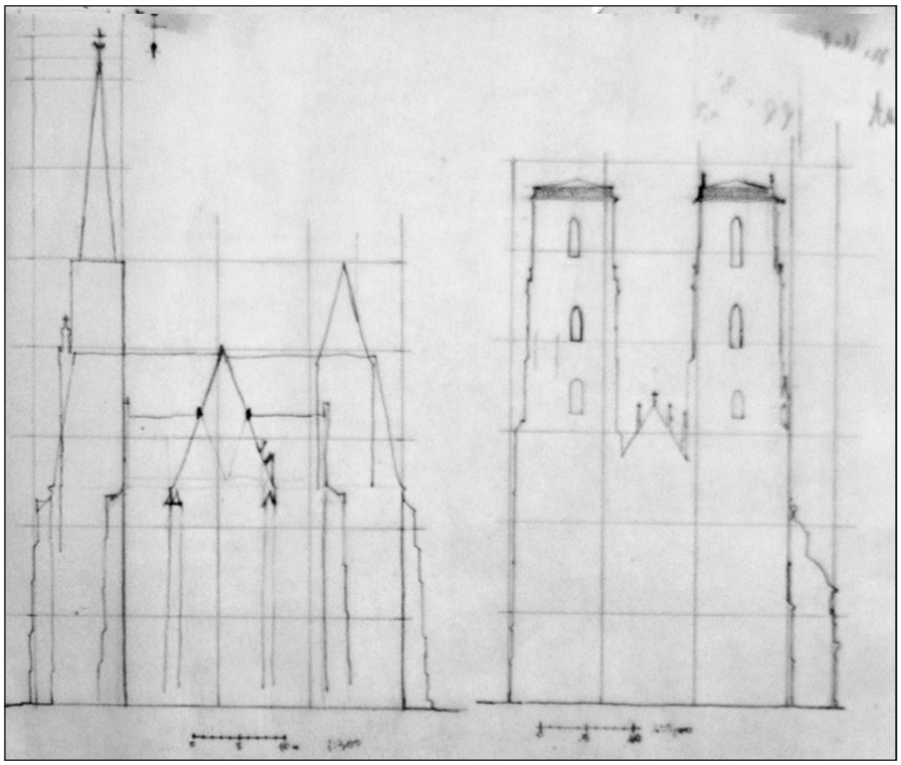
In 1989, design documents were ready [190]. The architectural concept adopted assumed the recreation of the medieval forms of the tower spires. The adopted form was a result of the data acquired from the analysis of medieval spires and the applied simplifications arising from the quality of execution then possible, as well as from the desire to mark the time of their creation. The restoration of medieval forms resulted from the author's ideological assumptions. The reconstruction of the cathedral's towers was an undertaking on both an urban and architectural scale. On the one hand, the cathedral was an element of the reconstruction of the Old Town silhouette, which had towers. (Edmund Małachowicz had previously reconstructed Gothic spires in the church-

16 In the Lexicon of the Architecture of Wrocław..., p. 139, it was mentioned that Edmund Małachowicz was "an advocate of the idea of demolishing the southern frontage of the square". This information is not confirmed by the source material studied by the author.

17 At the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, the building at 10/11 Uniwersytecki Square was lowered by one storey.

18 Leaving the towers without the spires is contrary to the architecture of the building [92, p. 141]. Article [87] was entirely devoted to this subject.

135. Study of the proportions of the tower and spire of St John the Baptist Cathedral, fig. by E. Małachowicz, from the archives of the Małachowicz family



136. Tower spires of Wroclaw Cathedral before and after restoration works were carried out (1908–1922) – so-called Hartung's spires [79, p. 154]

es of St James, St Bernard and St Adalbert[19]). On the other hand, it was about completing the façade of the building: "Leaving the towers without their spires is a lack of willingness to take risks – Notre Dame has a different architectural composition. The elevation of Wrocław cathedral has its storeys rising in an offset manner and needs to be closed in the form of a spire, as was the case in the 15th century. Otherwise, it will remain mutilated and incomplete" [87, p. 283]. The professor conducted studies and analyses of 19th and 20th-century tower

19 The helmet on St Bernard's Church was reconstructed in the 1960s, and on St Vincent's and St Adalbert's Church in the 1980s.

designs for the cathedral[20]. However, he concluded that for economic and technical reasons, a simple conical form would be the easiest to construct. A model of the cathedral with the spires on the towers was created in 1 : 200 scale to supplement the design documents.

The form of the spires presented in the design referred to the Gothic style. A reconstruction of Renaissance spires was considered, but it was decided that spire tops corresponding to the Gothic character of the western elevation would have a better effect. The basis for the design was an analysis of the oldest image of the city by H. Schedel from 1493, few written references and analogies in the architecture of medieval tower spires in Silesia[21]. Two 8-sided cone-shaped tower spires 40.00 m high were designed (counting from the tower's terrace to the top of the cross), divided in about 1/3 of the height by an openwork gallery which simultaneously serves as a viewing terrace – identical in dimensions for both towers.

The steel structure, the same for both steeples, was to be fixed upon the top floor of the tower and attached to the rim joists[22]. A 0.6 mm thick copper sheet affixed to a wooden truss was proposed. The gallery of the northern tower was additionally planned to be accented with a decoration in the form of small gables and spheres in order to mark its older origin. The spires were supposed to be crowned with copper, gold-plated spheres and crosses made of copper bars or stainless steel mounted on the masts of both towers.

The functional assumption was to create a new vantage point in Wrocław. Thus, space was provided for a staircase in the lower parts of the spires (from the last stop of the lift to the exit to the terrace), where there were ladder stairs leading to the gallery. The upper part, above the vantage point, was to remain

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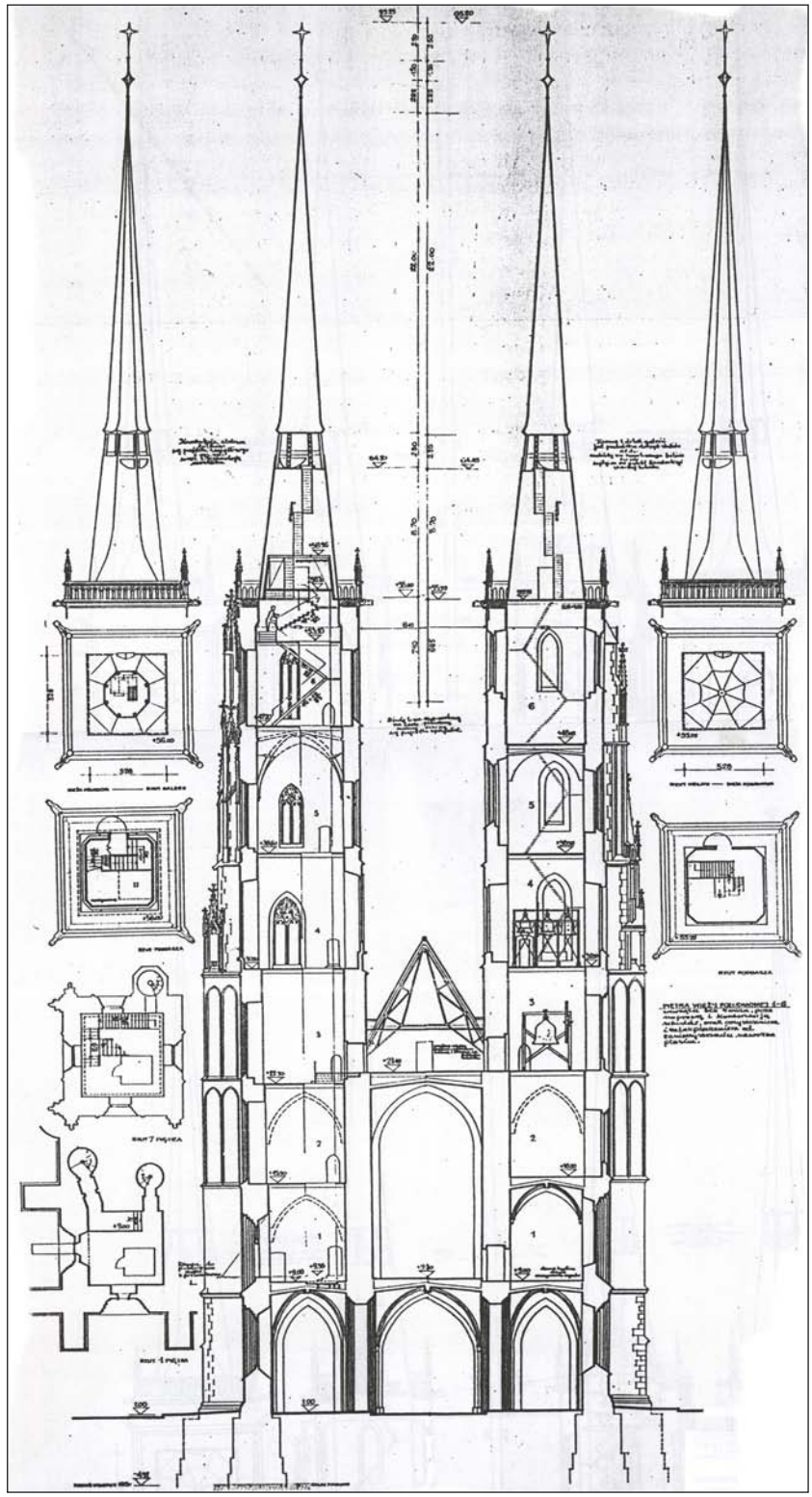
20 In the past, steeple reconstruction designs have been created by:
J. Ebers – prepared a design (1905) in the spirit of pseudo-Gothic. He proposed to supplement the stonework of the northern tower and make it similar to the southern tower and identical forms for both spires. The design was not implemented.
E. von Rechenberg (1907) – abandoned the idea of beautifying the southern tower. He envisaged a pair of identical spires (slightly resembling the form adopted by E. Małachowicz), i.e., octagonal cones on a square base, with a gallery – a floor in the lower half of the height. (According to Małachowicz, the mistake was too low a height - similar to J. Ebers' design). His design covered the entire western façade of the cathedral and included many changes. It was not implemented either.
H. Hartung – in his design, he proposed the restoration and unification of the stonework decoration of both towers and the reconstruction of the western elevation with a large window and a gallery at the top. (he planned to change the architecture of the top itself). The design basis was Schedel's view, but the designed height was reduced to about 20 m. As a result, the cathedral towers were to be 6 m lower than the towers in the Church of the Holy Cross. The design was implemented in 1911. Under his direction, the spire of the northern tower was built in 1912–1914... Between 1920 and 1922, Ebers took over construction management. The spire of the southern tower and stonework were made at that time. Ebers simplified the detail of the spire in terms of the general silhouette. The towers of the western elevation survived in this shape until 1945.

21 Examples cited by the author of the reconstruction: the spire of the Church of the Holy Cross in Ostrów Tumski, the spire of the Church of St Elizabeth by an 18th-century etching and the form of the towers of wooden churches in Komorowce and Międzyrzecz [87, pp. 273–275].

22 It was designed by K. Rykaluk (currently retired professor of the Faculty of Construction at the Wrocław University of Technology).

137. Design of the spires of Wrocław Cathedral (1981) by E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family



138. A gargoyle on the tower of Wrocław Cathedral (2014); photo: E.G.

inaccessible to visitors. Here, on the outside of the spires, there were hooks for possible repair scaffolds.

The design study also included the reconstruction of the crowning of the towers, i.e., the balustrades and the pinnacles, whose shape was based on the forms known from the views before the fire of 1759, when they were completely destroyed[23]. The spires, known from the state before 1945 (by Hugo Hartung), dated from 1912–1922 and were a pseudo-Gothic reconstruction of medieval elements. The new design opted for the reconstruction of the overall architecture of the towers' crowning as it was before 1759, but in simplified forms and adapted to modern, more durable construction technology.

The coping with cornice, balustrade, handrail, and gargoyles were designed in reinforced-concrete technology. Only the pinnacles were planned to be made of stone. The rim joist and cornice on the wall coping were to be poured out wet, with simultaneous formation of slopes and drainage gutters, as well as the laying of prefabricated gargoyles and placement of sockets (dowels) for the balusters. The balustrade with corner posts was also planned to be formed wet in planed timber formwork (as well as the cornice). In the inner corners of the coping, an L-beam of 150 × 150 × 20 mm was to be mounted to allow the welding of the spire structure. Prefabricated products were designed to be made based on gypsum forms – with the exception of balusters, for which the model form was to be made of metal. The gargoyle required sculptural modeling and then mould-casting. All prefabricated elements were planned to be made on site[24].

The design also had to provide for proper organisation of work. It was planned that 32 m^3 of stone rubble (approx. 150 t) formed from the demolition of the wall copings and lifting of approx. 40 m^3 (180 t) would require a permanent lift for goods and people, necessary also after the completion of the works. It was

23 These forms, as is evident from the interpretation of iconographic records and analogies with the preserved steeple and terrace of the tower of the Church of the Holy Cross, were identical or similar to the medieval ones – existing before 1540 on the northern tower. After the medieval steeple had collapsed, the stone balustrade decorated in the corners with pinnacles and rising above the cornice with four gargoyles was merely repaired and filled in. It was repeated on the later completed south tower.

24 The description of detailed technical solutions has been developed on the basis of [190].

139.Western elevation of Wrocław Cathedral (2011); photo E.G.

concluded that external transport would be very difficult to carry out and also inadvisable due to the existing stonework, height and the danger involved. As a result, the lift was installed inside the north tower. In addition, scaffolding and a bridge between the towers were provided.

Edmund Małachowicz established three stages of construction design. In the first stage, the assembly of the freight and passenger lift on the north tower was carried out and the scaffolding was placed on the coping of both towers. Next, the coping of the walls was demolished, and the damaged stonework of the frieze and pinnacles was replaced (by the design drawings of the architectural detail prepared by the Professor). In the next step, new reinforced concrete tower cornices and corner posts with sockets for the balustrade were made. Eight prefabricated stone pinnacle elements and reinforced concrete balusters were also prepared.

In the second stage, mainly construction work was carried out, and the tower assembly technology was refined. Eventually, the spires were assembled on the ground (each spire consisted of two elements) and transported to the desired height with a freight crane. The balusters were set up, the corner pinnacles and a reinforced concrete railing was made.

The implementation of the third stage included the replacement and supplementation of the decorative stonework of the towers. During the construction of the spires, the winding staircase in the north tower, which was destroyed in 1945, was also restored. The assembly of the new coping of the cathedral's front elevation ended on 14 August 1991.

From the conservation point of view, the construction of new spires on the towers cannot be entirely counted among the activities aimed at reintegrating the architecture of the façade of the western cathedral in Wrocław, as historically only one tower had a Gothic spire. Edmund Małachowicz described the nature of his undertaking as such: "The construction of the spires would, therefore, be more than a reconstruction, it would be a continuation of a medieval concept, interrupted by stylistic changes; the existence of this concept (with a high degree of probability) is only a guess, and the stylistic changes disappeared as a result of subsequent historical events. This would not, as we know, be the first work of its kind in Europe, and many of the reasons discussed here speak in favour of it" [87, p. 283].

The construction of the tower spires was the end of Edmund Małachowicz's conservation work on the façade of the western cathedral[25]. The design was characterized by a search for historical analogies to the adopted form of the coping. The authenticity of the sculptural decoration material was not maintained. A more durable and cheaper material was used, as well as modern construction and assembly methods. The replacement of sandstone with reinforced concrete was justified due to the considerable height of the object (and viewing distance) and the lack of any preserved authentic elements. In Professor's opinion, such a solution ensured greater durability of the building, because, as the

25 Georg Thum sees the construction of the spires as the culmination of the process of Gothic restoration of Wrocław Cathedral, which was to remind about the Piast-Polish roots of the city [143, p. 382]. Taking into account the years of the project's implementation, i.e., 1989–1991, and the fact that the investor was the archdiocesan curia in Wrocław, it is difficult to consider it an element of propaganda of the communist authorities.

damage of 1945 showed, the coping made of stone blocks proved not to be resistant to fire and destructive forces and did not constitute a compact rim joist binding the walls of the tower. The visual effect of forms made of reinforced concrete (which are in detail a new design, not an accurate reconstruction) does not really differ from stonework, because their external texture was carefully crafted and supplemented at least partially by stonework. The observation deck on the north-western tower has thus become one of the two new places in the cathedral to be visited. Other attractions were the underground Romanesque crypt under the choir and the bishop's crypt under the nave.

6.4.2 Romanesque crypt (1995–1998) – conservation design with an exhibition of medieval relics

On 21 February 1995, prelate Adam Drwięga, the cathedral's parson, asked the Ministry of Culture and Art [180] to finance the conservation and exhibition work on the relics of the Romanesque crypt in Wrocław Cathedral as part of the departmental programme „The Millennium of the Gniezno Convention". Edmund Małachowicz was to work on the designs.

The relics of the Romanesque cathedral unveiled in the 1940s and 1950s during the reconstruction of the temple after the destruction of the last war were secured in a specially built crypt. They were left in their original state and were not open to the public[26]. The main design assumption was to build an access to the crypt with the necessary vestibule, to carry out the conservation of Romanesque relics *in situ* and retrieved loose fragments, as well as the appropriate exposition of the whole according to Edmund Małachowicz's concept.

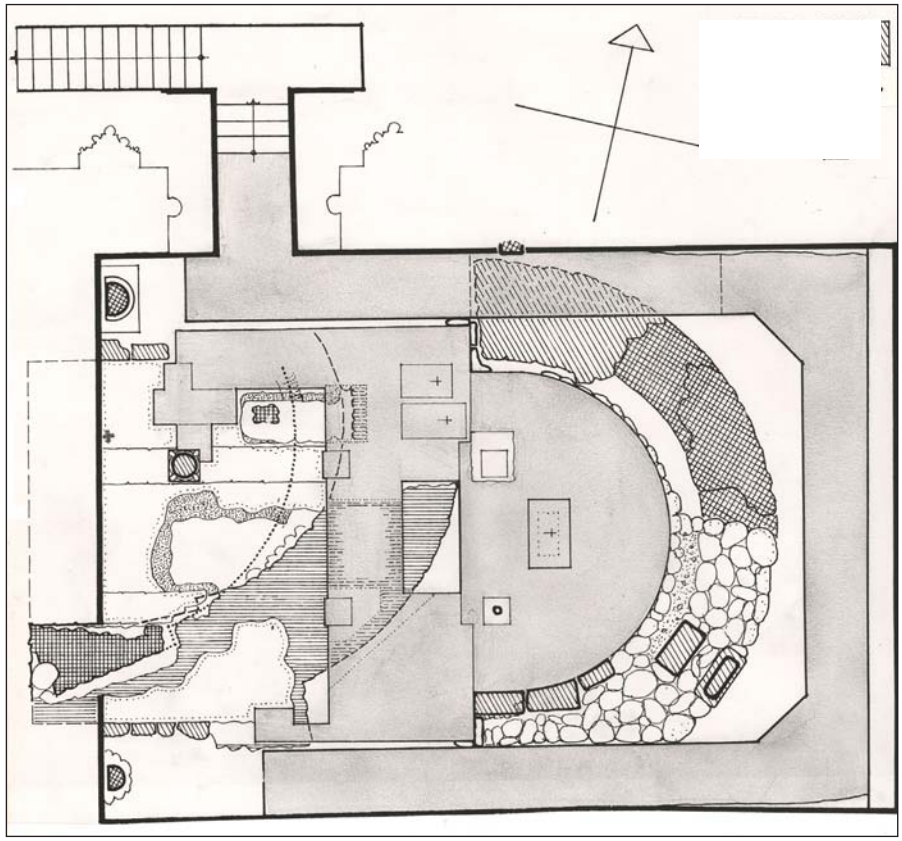
The subsidy was granted – it was paid out in two tranches in 1995 and 1996. The Provincial Conservator granted the permit to carry out conservation works in the Romanesque crypt on 20 October 1995[27]. The team of researchers including designer – coordinator Edmund Małachowicz (also acting as the author's supervision over the conducted works), archaeologists: Czesław Lasota,

Aleksander Limisiewicz, Paweł Rzeźnik, and architect Maciej Małachowicz (acting as the building supervisor and conservation supervisor). Zygmunt Świechowski became a scientific consultant.

The original concept assumed constructing a vestibule with stairs leading down under one bay of the ambit and piercing an opening leading to the room of the Romanesque crypt [180]. Inside, there would be an exhibition of stone relics of early medieval architecture against the backdrop of a floor with the reconstructed outline of the former interior. Under the ceiling of the room, a frame outline of the former vault was to be hung, made of white tubes led along the edges. In place of the keystones, it was planned to place lamps with wires run in

26 The matter of research on the crypt is described by M. Bukowski [17, comments 5, 6, 159, 161] and E. Małachowicz [79, comment 82]. Until 1995 the bottom of the crypt was left untouched; the descent was only makeshift.

27 Approval No 246/Arch/95 [180].



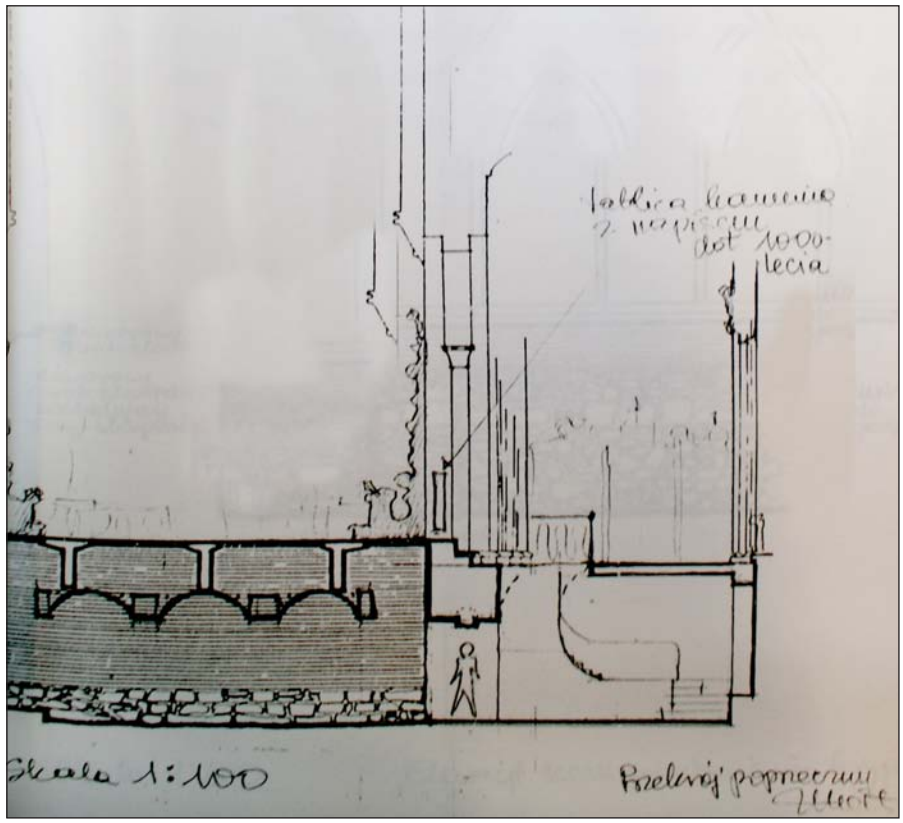
140. Romanesque crypt plan, developed by E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

the tubes mentioned above. The relics of Romanesque detail were to be exposed on the eastern wall of the underground. It was assumed that in the course of earthworks, it would be possible to unveil a fragment of the apse and transept. In front of the entrance to the underground or on the vestibule wall, a stone plaque commemorating the 1000th anniversary of Wrocław Cathedral was planned to be placed.

The work programme established in the design included detailed archaeological and architectural studies of the interior of the crypt, especially the stratification of the 11th and 12th-century walls, together with reconstruction studies of the plan. It was supposed that it was possible to find the missing shafts and bases of Romanesque columns. Otherwise, the design assumed to make a copy of them. The remaining architectural details were intended for cleaning and maintenance. The possibility of removing the cement grouting of the crypt walls was considered[28]. The discovered relics of Romanesque architecture – such as a base and a shaft of a wall column (and a group of blocks of the crypt wall) and one complete column of the crypt were subjected to anastylosis with the necessary conservation additions. One span of the ambulatory arcade, together with

28 Grouting the joints between stone blocks with cement mortar in 1952 led to the lack of clarity of the stone and brick system. whose inlet was the grating of the entrance hole, the outlet was located under the ceiling of the underground, in the corner.

141. Design of conservation of the Romanesque crypt in Wrocław Cathedral with an exposition of early-medieval relics (cross-section) [180]



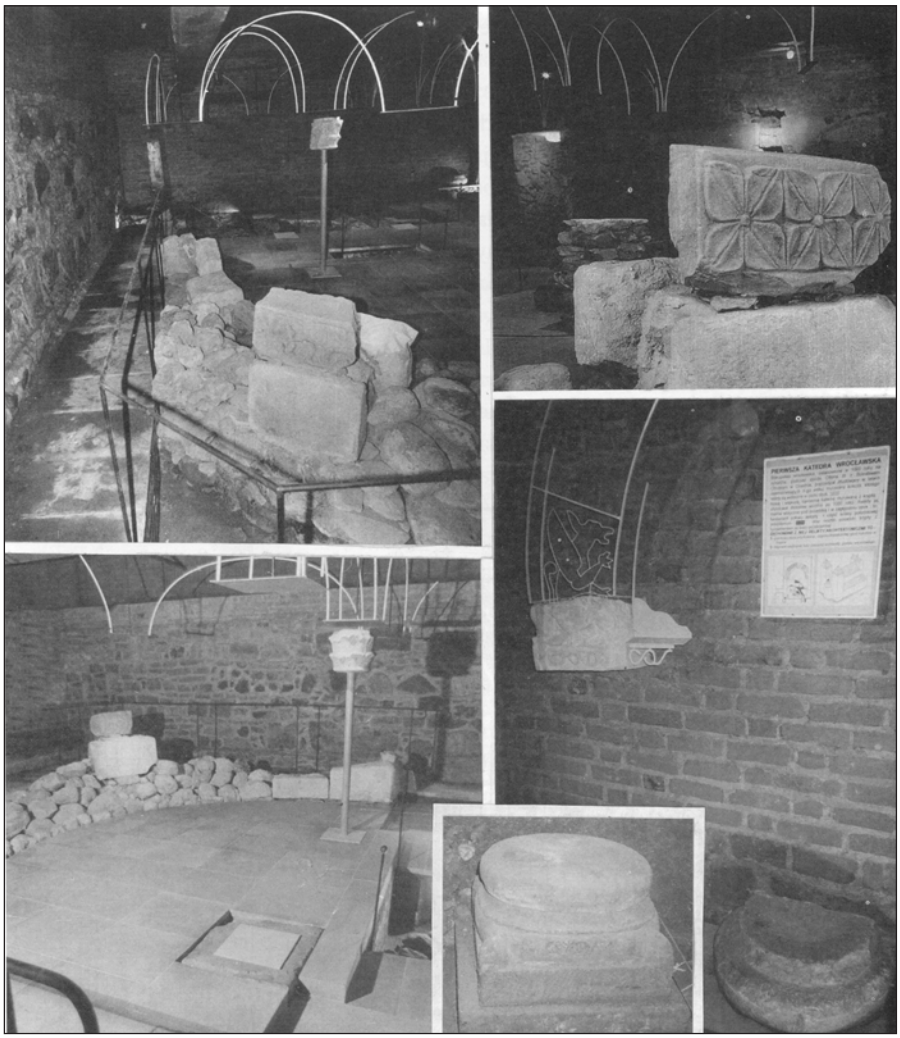
the original floor level, was to be uncovered, cleaned, as well as preserved and used as an exhibition element.

The adaptation of the interiors for exhibition purposes included organizing and forming the entire crypt surface. New elements had to be created, among others, a floor made of glazed tiles with colour and texture emphasizing authentic relics and a veneer on the entrance stairs and platforms made of ceramic tiles. A suspended ceiling was designed, as well as commemorative plaques and information inscriptions. The planned installation work included lighting and drainage. It was also necessary to ensure adequate ventilation in the room due to the periodical high level of subcutaneous water, causing dampness[29]. The stones obtained from the demolition were planned to be used to reconstruct the outline of the walls of the former crypt. The design did not include the way the relics would be displayed[30].

The course of construction work demonstrated that the solution envisaged in the concept could not be implemented. At the investor's request, the place of the designed entrance to the crypt was changed and moved to the northern arm of the ambulatory. As a result of detailed research on the place of the designed

29 The utility considerations dictated that the room should be provided with adequate air exchange to prevent the dampening of structural partitions. It was decided to use gravity ventilation.

30 E. Małachowicz provided a detailed description of the way of exposing the relics in [180, pp. 310–315].



142. Romanesque crypt in Wrocław Cathedral, condition after conservation, developed by E. Małachowicz [79]

vestibule, brick heating ducts and a vault with a large cross-section were found, which forced another change of concept. So, in the end, it was decided to do less work: to give up the vestibule and confine oneself only to the staircase of the descent to the crypt. The examination of the relics of the previous buildings was carried out only within the excavation.

The work was completed in 2009. The way the exhibition was organized and arranged was to enable the viewer, deprived of expert knowledge, to interpret the old architectural form with the use of contemporary means of expression and the proper composition of authentic elements. What was collected here were not only the discovered architectural details but also a couple of exhibits from the Archdiocesan Museum[31]. The applied measures enabled the exposition and per-

31 In order to enrich the exposition, details dating back to the same period as the other relics that were part of it were brought in. These were: 12th-century limestone blocks from the apse, limestone blocks with the remnants of a 12th-century painting, a 12th-century fragment of a window

ception of incomplete forms, i.e., relics of the three earliest cathedrals against the backdrop of outlines of the plan and vaults, reconstructed in a sketch-only manner, e.g., utilizing iron bars[32]. The design of the exhibition of the Romanesque crypt can be described as an original programme concept consisting of making the presented artifacts, especially the fragmentary ones, more readable and adding informational elements that enable the viewer to recognize and understand their function and form, and not only admire their qualities.

6.4.3 Bishop's crypt (2008, 2009) – interior conservation and adaptation design

The cathedral crypt was the burial place for dignitaries and senior clergy of the church administration[33]33. The willingness to use its interior for exhibition and tourism purposes entailed the need to carry out its conservation and restoration. Conservation permit for the crypt adaptation design by Edmund Małachowicz was issued by the Conservator of the city of Wrocław Katarzyna Hawrylak-Brzezowska on 9 September 2008.

The main design assumption was to give architectural shape to the interior of the crypt and restore its monumental character, expose historical relics, and arrange the function of the sepulchral chapel. The design included the construction of the descent to the crypt in three variants, as well as the enlargement of the burial space, thanks to the demolition of a smaller columbarium and closing the corridor with a larger columbarium. Two bishop sarcophagi were planned to be placed on the west wall. In terms of restoration activities, it was planned to fill in and correct the joints of the stone face of the crypt walls, and to cover the brick vaults and walls with white lime plaster. New flooring made of granite slabs in grey was designed. The whole arrangement was complemented by newly designed interior details, such as an altar plate made of black granite 140 × 80 × 12 cm, an iron chandelier, black with candle-shaped light bulbs, unified tombstones, a metal entrance cover. The design was implemented in 2009 and made available to the public.

This was one of the last designs implemented during Edmund Małachowicz's lifetime concerning conservation work in the cathedral in Wrocław. As has been demonstrated, the Professor had been connected with the cathedral for many years of his professional activity, not only in the field of design but also in research. He always believed that due to the uniqueness of this architecture on a national scale, it was necessary to strive for the maximum exposure of its values through anastylosis, restitution, or even reconstruction of this valuable work

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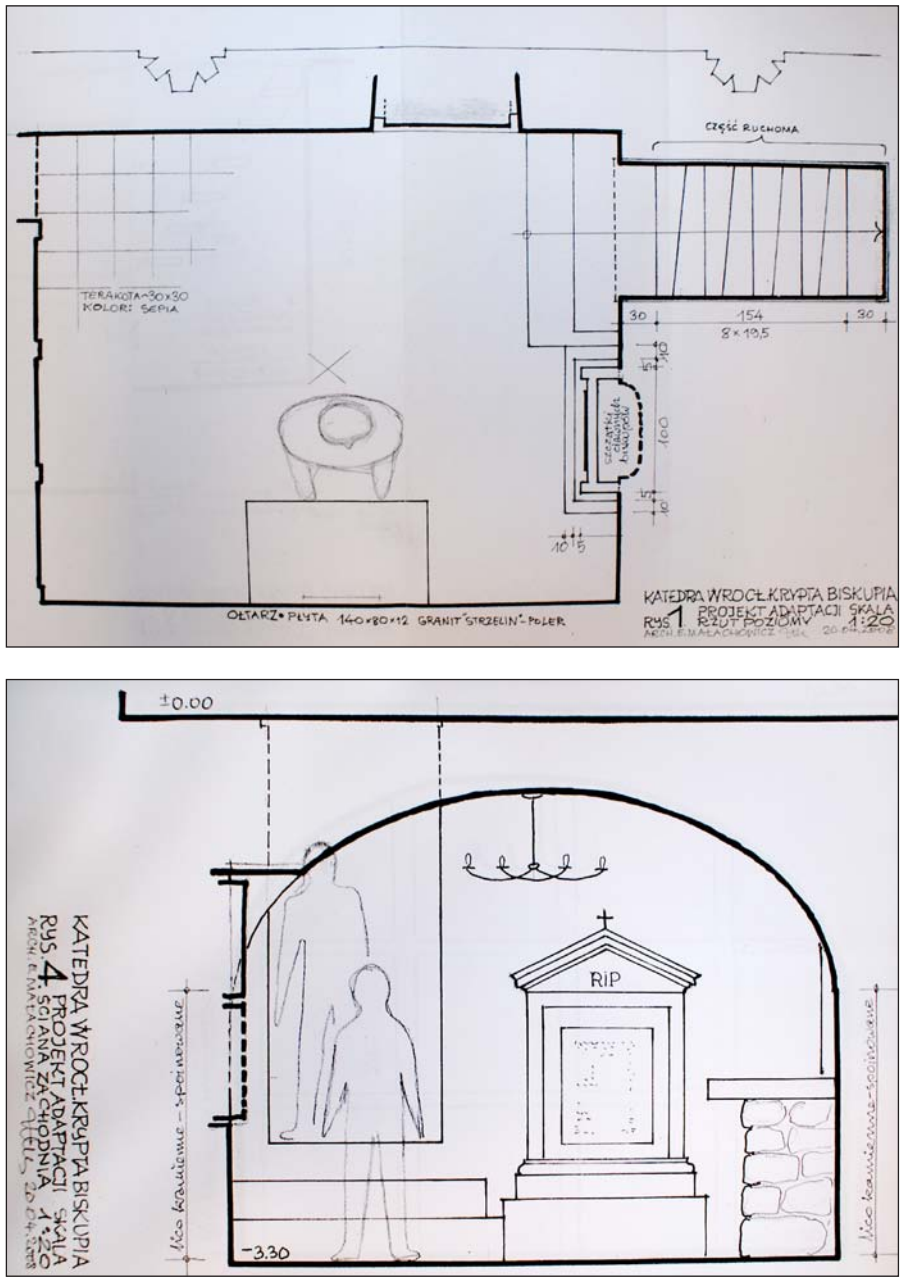
frieze from the apse with a four-leaf motif, a 12th-century column capital from the crypt, the base of a semi-column that of an archivolt – from the first cathedral from around 1000, the shaft of an 11th-century semi-column, an 11th-century plate with an imprint of the base of a semi-column from the crypt. Cf.: [79, p. 314, 315].

32 More about the perception of different types of architectural forms can be found in the works: [94, 159].

33 Cardinal Bolesław Kominek, Bishop Wincenty Urban, and Cardinal Adolf Bertram, whose remains were moved here, rest in this crypt.



143. Design of the adaptation of the bishop's crypt in Wrocław Cathedral: crypt plan (top), view of the western wall (bottom) [189]

of art. He argued that many European cathedrals regained lost parts of their architecture only after the restoration efforts of the 19th and 20th centuries. [79, s. 180].

Edmund Małachowicz believed that the cathedral in Wrocław still required several more conservation procedures, consisting mainly of reintegrating its medieval form. He postulated the removal of some of the modifications made in a simplified manner and the reconstruction of the southern elevation including

144. Interior of the bishop's crypt in Wrocław Cathedral (2014); photo E.G.

the design of a balustrade with pinnacles and the correction of the roof drainage using fragments of stone found during the demolition of the superstructure and from the rubble under the Alumnate. Inside, he suggested the reconstruction of the horizontal cornice of the chancel and the restoration of the architectural divisions of the monumental interior. He also proposed to place a plaque with the monogram of the Slavic rite church in the floor of the cathedral, in place of the then altar.

Summary

In Edmund Małachowicz's designs prepared during his employment at the Wrocław University of Technology, clear references to the provisions of the Venice Charter can be noted [46]. He considered the results of his own research

work, as well as that created in cooperation within an interdisciplinary team of scientists, to be the basic design guidelines. He also conducted insightful and multithreaded iconographic and literature studies.

I don't know if anyone will do it, but I left a kind of testament.

The basic activity for the Professor was to create a suitable background for the exposition of authentic architectural elements. He placed them either in situ or in the most probable original location (e.g., authentic portals in the façade of the house at 14 Katedralna Street). In the case of exposing relics discovered in the course of archaeological research, he used anastylosis, and contemporary materials were used only as a unifying element, easily recognizable, but harmonised, to restore continuity of form. Thanks to this, a kind of conservation metaphor was created that influenced the recipient's imagination.

Edmund Małachowicz treated the reconstruction specifically. He saw in it a kind of architecture parlante, a testimony enriching the history of the city's architecture. He reproduced the elements of the building to the extent he considered necessary so that the past forms of the building or complex would not be perceived in a distorted way by the observer. He also used modern construction techniques to strengthen historic buildings (e.g., reinforced concrete rim joists on the cathedral towers). He selected the newly designed fragments based on studio drawings of architectural composition. He gave all supplements simplified or neutral forms – he treated typical contemporary elements as accents, corresponding to the historical environment and emphasizing its values [46].

7 Designs made outside Poland

Edmund Małachowicz's design activities in their majority covered Poland within the 1945 borders. At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, opportunities appeared for both research and design trips. The professor had a chance to participate in archaeological work in Iraq and lecture at the local university in Mosul as a visiting professor. He also spent a prolonged time in Vilnius, where he worked on the renovation of famous necropolises.

Rasos Cemetery – Vilnius (1989–1993)

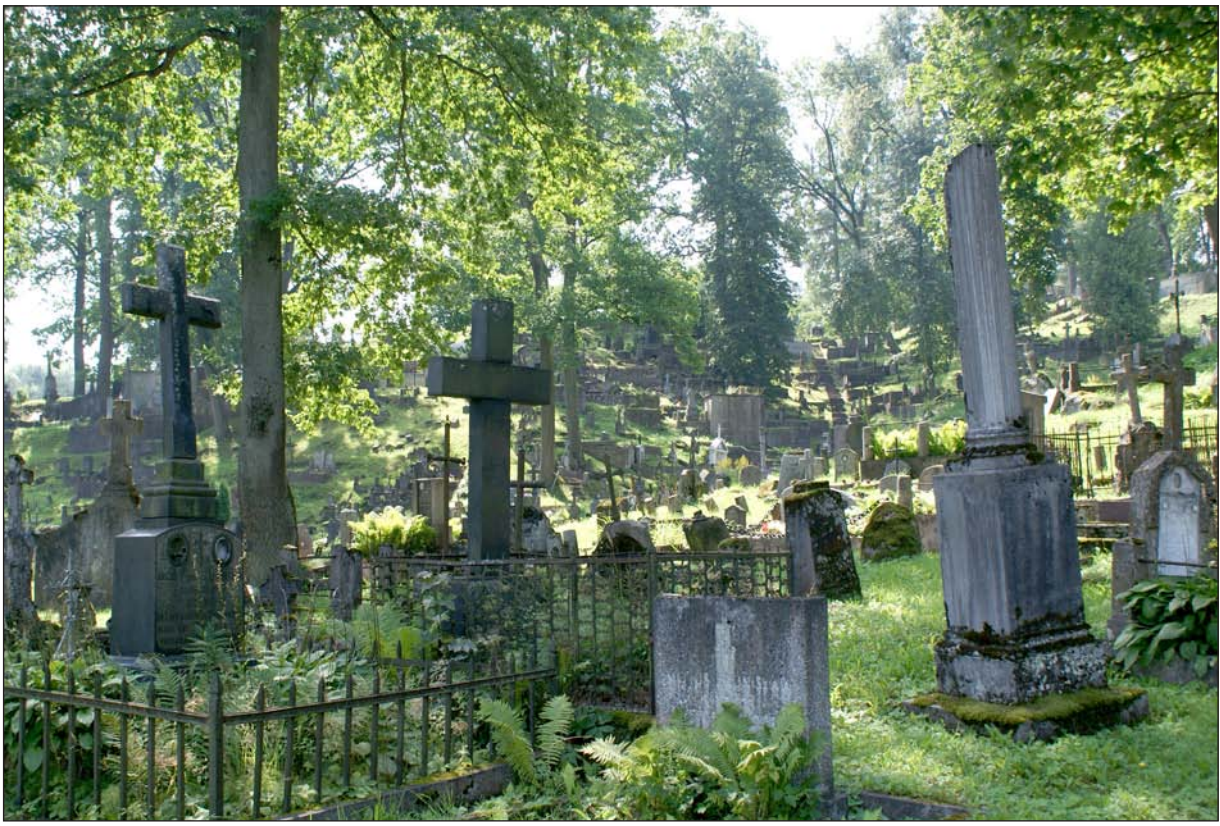
The Vilnius period in the work of Edmund Małachowicz can be described as a sentimental journey to his childhood and early youth. The professor and his family stayed in Vilnius in the years 1989–1991[1]. The trip resulted in three books on the history of the city and two designs of rebuilding military cemeteries of Rasos and Antakalnis. The first one was fully implemented in the years 1991–1993.

The name „Rossa" (Polish for Rasos) is derived from the Rosicki family – the former owners of this land. The history of burials in the area of today's cemetery dates back to the first half of the 15th century; there was then an Orthodox church there (destroyed in the wars during the reign of Jan Kazimierz). The first mention of the use of the land as a resting place for the deceased dates back to 1690 and concerns the burial of a Jesuit person (the Order bought part of the land from the Rosickis). However, the year 1769 is considered to be the beginning of the cemetery, when the mayor of Vilnius, Basil Müller, designated a small area in the valley of Rossa for a necropolis for the Jesuits. In 1773, as a result of the cessation of the Order, the area went under the administration of missionaries. In April 1801 the boundaries of the cemetery were regulated, and its area was increased to 3.51 ha and fenced with a wooden fence[2]. In 1814, the northern part of the Hill of the Literaries and the Northern Valley were joined to the cemetery, which resulted in another increase – to 6.2 ha. The whole thing was fenced with a brick wall. In the 19th century, many buildings were built in the area of the cemetery, e.g., a hospital for the poor with Baroque-Classical features, sepulchral chapels designed in the spirit of historicism and family columbaria.

Rasos cemetery was the most popular burial site since the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Among others, professors of Vilnius University, many soldiers and officers of Napoleonic legions, and Vilnius residents displaced as a result of post-insurgent repressions were buried here.

1 At that time, political changes took place in Poland and in some parts of the USSR, which also included the territory of present-day Lithuania. The „thaw" that prevailed at that time made possible actions perceived until then as „politically unfavourable" such as, amongst others, restoring graves and commemorating Home Army soldiers.

2 The fence was supposedly dismantled for fire by Napoleon's army soldiers.



145. Rasos Cemetery (2017); photo: E.G.

146. Rasos Cemetery (1990), photo E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

In 1919 and 1920, the fallen soldiers of Vilnius Self-Defense began to be buried outside the fenced cemetery grounds, on the other side of Listopadowa Street[3]. In this way, a military cemetery was created – rebuilt and cleaned up in 1926 according to a design by an unknown author[4]. In the 1930s, Vilnius authorities extended the necropolis to 4.6 hectares, which has since been called New Rasos.

The second military cemetery was built at the main gate of the old cemetery. It was the place where the soldiers who died during the Polish-Soviet War of 1919 and 1920 were buried. The area was rebuilt and cleaned up in 1926 on the basis of a design by Juliusz Kłos[5]. Further changes were introduced ten years later in connection with the burial of the heart of Marshal Józef Piłsudski (d. 1935) (in the grave of Maria Piłsudska, the mother)[6]. It was then that the stone sarcophagus designed by Wojciech Jastrzębski from Krakow was created.

Since then, the importance of the military cemetery in Rasos had significantly increased – it had become a mausoleum of the struggle for Polish independ-

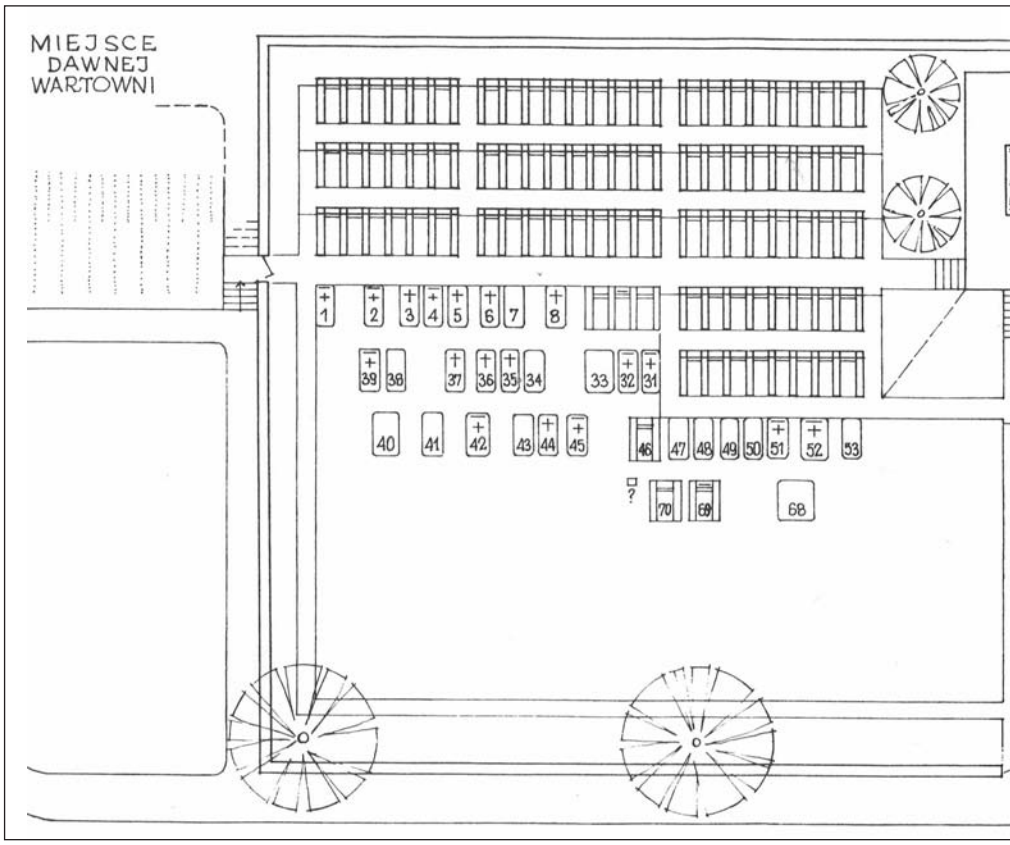
At that time, we had the opportunity to get to know Vilnius and our slightly further family, who still lived there. They were very interested in Poland. They said they had to separate. It was not allowed to speak Polish or have a Polish ending in the surname, only Lithuanian [219].

3 People were unofficially buried in the area since 1847.

4 There are 40 graves of Polish and 22 of Lithuanian soldiers in the cemetery. In the middle, there is a monument in the form of a massive column standing on a pedestal, covered with a motif of vertical spears. The coping was formed by a (destroyed after 1945) sculpture of the Polish eagle, below there is an inscription: Vilnius to its saviors.

5 A neo-classical chapel with an inscription was erected then: To heroic defenders of Vilnius. In the place of the graves with wooden crosses, straight light grey granite tombstones were mounted in the same style.

6 It probably had to do with the local tradition of burial of „the heart of the son at his mother's feet". Similar examples of such burials can be found, among others, in Vilnius Cathedral.



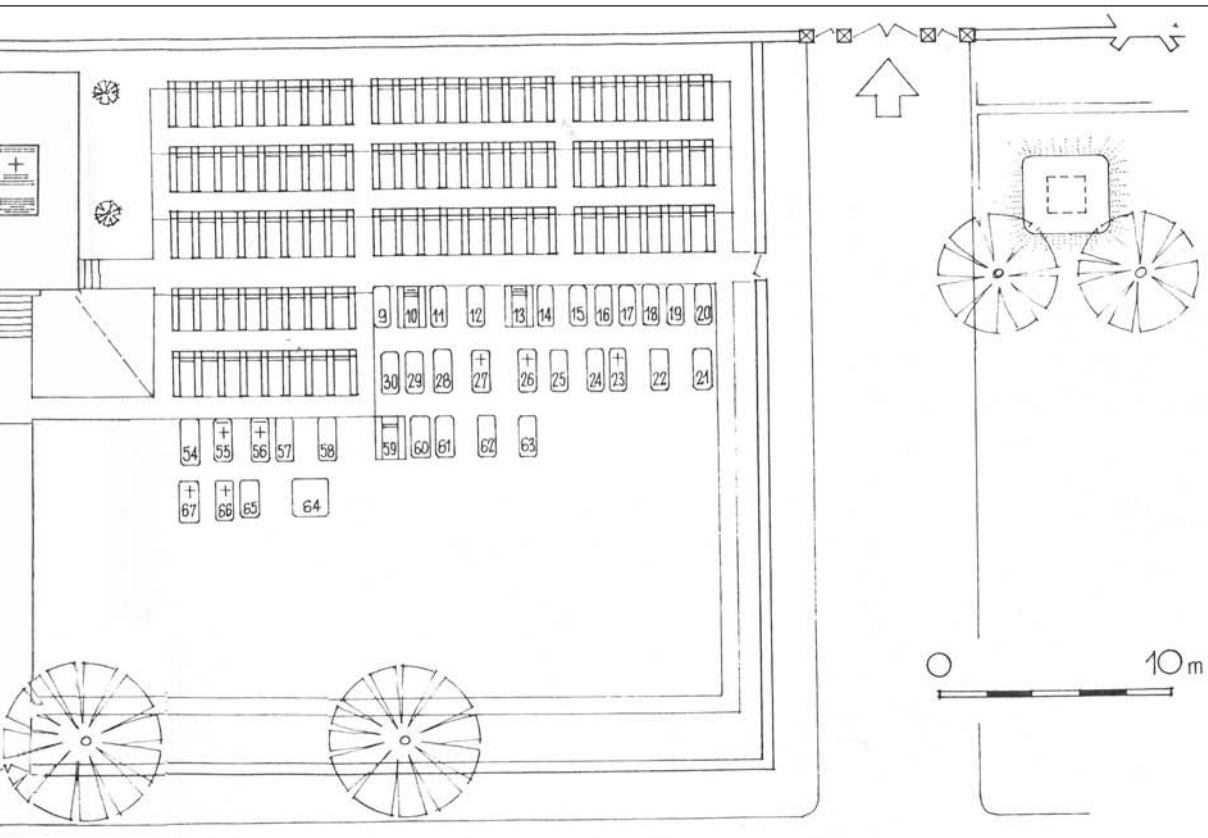
ence. At the same time, Vilnius authorities bought the neighbouring hill and thus created a natural barrier around the cemetery.

During World War II, the dead were usually buried in makeshift graves with a modest wooden cross. The cause of death was usually given in the form of a formula: he died a tragic death, only the dates of September 1939 and August 1944 indicated a connection with the USSR's aggression on Poland[7] and the Home Army action codenamed Gate of Dawn (Ostra Brama)[8]. Funerals in difficult war conditions were held in a hurry – usually, the graves did not have a geometrical arrangement as in the 1920s.

After the war, Vilnius and the whole territory of Lithuania were incorporated into the USSR. The activity of the Home Army was perceived by the new authorities as anti-Soviet, and its members were often subjected to cruel repressions. Their graves were repeatedly destroyed and devastated; there was no permission to restore them and commemorate the fallen soldiers accordingly. The military cemetery with the grave of the Marshal Piłsudski's mother and heart was

7 The USSR handed Vilnius over to the Republic of Lithuania on 28 September 1939, which gave rise to the Lithuanian occupation and further repressions against Poles. In June 1940, Lithuania was annexed by the Soviet Union.

8 Cf. [140, 142]. The list was supplemented in the 1990s by six additional names during the cemetery reconstruction works conducted by Edmund Małachowicz.



relatively the least affected at that time, although acts of vandalism and devastation also occurred here.

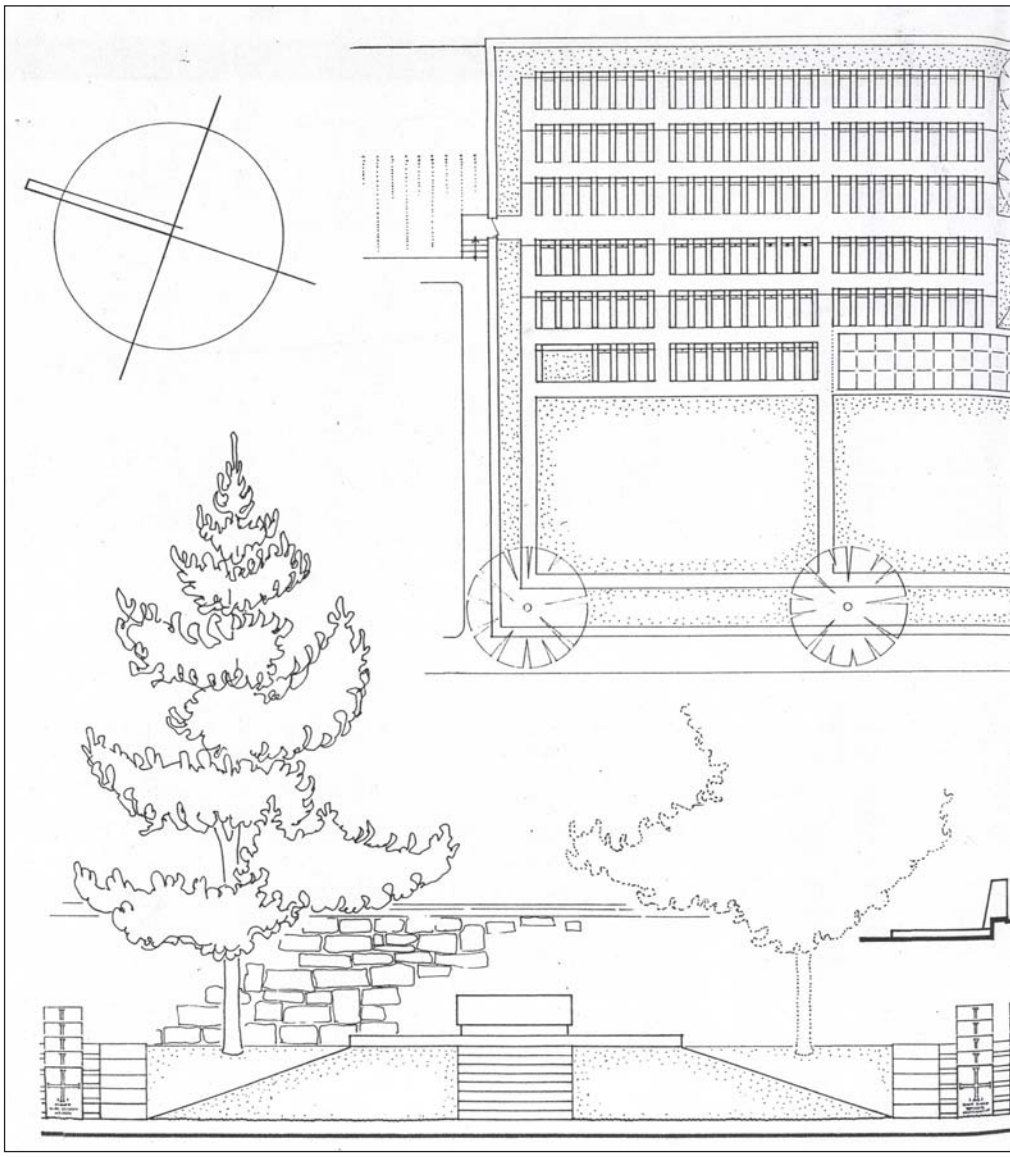
In the 1950s, the columbaria were demolished in „old" Rasos. In 1967 the cemetery was officially closed – the exception was the burials of merited people. Two years later, it was legally recognised as a monument. Over time, some of the grave chapels fell into disrepair or were turned into junk dumps. Some wooden tombstones were also removed. At the end of the 1980s, a design was created to reconstruct and extend Listopadowa Street, separating the „old" Rasos from the „new" one. – which was tantamount to the liquidation of the military cemetery in New Rasos and the Polish and Lithuanian graves located there. The idea met with so much public opposition that instead of rebuilding the transport junction, it was decided to develop designs to restore the oldest Vilnius necropolis.

In the years 1986–1989, cleaning, inventory, design, and restoration works were carried out on the cemetery grounds. Initially, only the Lithuanian side took part in them, as the official offer of material and substantive assistance from the Polish Culture Foundation and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Poland was rejected[9].

147. Inventory of the military cemetery in Rasos: graves of Polish Army soldiers, the grave of Józef Piłsudski's mother with the Marshal's heart buried along. The graves of the Home Army soldiers marked with numbers, graves with an inscription – a line (1990), edited by E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

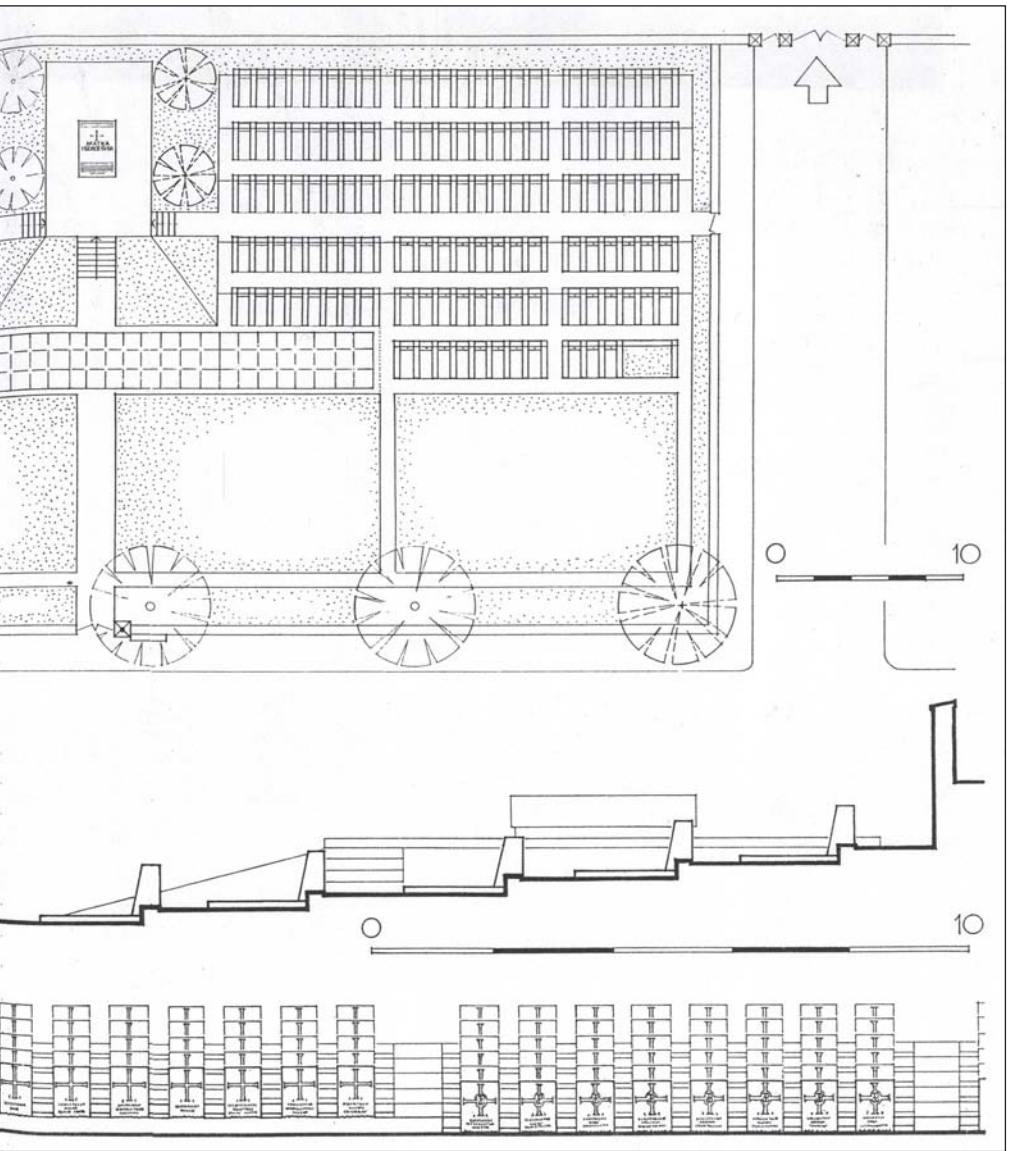
9 Among other things, the Lithuanians assumed the construction of a new main entrance from November Street in order to expose Lithuanian graves better. The Polish side was doubtful about the planned scope of demolitions and the list of tombstones considered to be monuments.

148. Rasos cemetery reconstruction design by E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family



Despite the lack of official consent, the Polish construction companies PP PKZ and Budimex operating in Vilnius, with several dozen employees, joined "these works, regardless of the formalities and doubts of the hosts" [74, p. 35]. Edmund Małachowicz, who already enjoyed respect as a researcher of old architecture, was invited to participate in the revitalization of the cemetery.

The Professor's activities covered both the design and research part – they were mainly concentrated within the military cemetery with the grave of Józef Piłsudski's heart. The condition of the soldier tombstones from the 1920s before the design works could be described as satisfactory, despite the traces of bullets, especially in comparison with the graves of Home Army members killed in the years 1939–1945. Most of the burials from that period were provisional



– the graves dug had only wooden crosses, usually without plates. Out of about 72 of them, only a few had permanent tombstones; the rest were small earth mounds barely visible from behind the weeds. The haste with which the burials of the fallen soldiers had to be organized meant that the graves did not hold the regular layout of the military cemetery from 1926. After World War II and the takeover of the Vilnius region by the Soviets, the graves of the fallen Home Army soldiers were devastated and deprived of inscriptions. The cemetery was becoming more and more neglected every year because the idea of renewing Polish military necropolises did not fit in with the „political climate" of the time. The situation was further complicated by the fact that a large part of the families of the fallen was displaced to Poland within the borders set at the Yalta conference.

149. Military cemetery in Rasos after reconstruction designed by E. Małachowicz (2017); photo: E.G.

Edmund Małachowicz – a participant in the fights for Vilnius as part of operation Storm (Burza) in 1944, after its failure, was captured by the Red Army and sent to Kaluga for heavy labour. His motivation to restore the military cemetery on Rossa to its former monumental character was undoubtedly extremely personal[10].

The work began with establishing the identity of the fallen soldiers buried in the graves without plaques. The information came from witnesses or families of the fallen and the preserved census of the cemetery.

10 Edmund Małachowicz mentioned it in his publications: This design was quite expensive [...], developed by the author [...] also a participant in these fights, in memory of his fallen colleagues [74, p. 421].

Despite these efforts, it was not possible to establish the identity of 16 of the 75 people buried in the years 1939–1944. Additionally, three symbolic tombstones were made to commemorate the soldiers killed in the battle of Krawczuny-Nowosiółki, buried in the St Raphael's cemetery in Pióromont[11], which was liquidated in 1958.

The basic design guideline in Edmund Małachowicz's concept was a harmonious continuation of the monumental 1936 layout commemorating Polish fights for independence. The cemetery had to be cleaned of vegetation, its walls and gates restored, and new paths built. In order to restore the elegant form of the

11 Leftover from the cemetery, there were remains of graves and iron fences. Some of the tombstones were used for construction purposes.

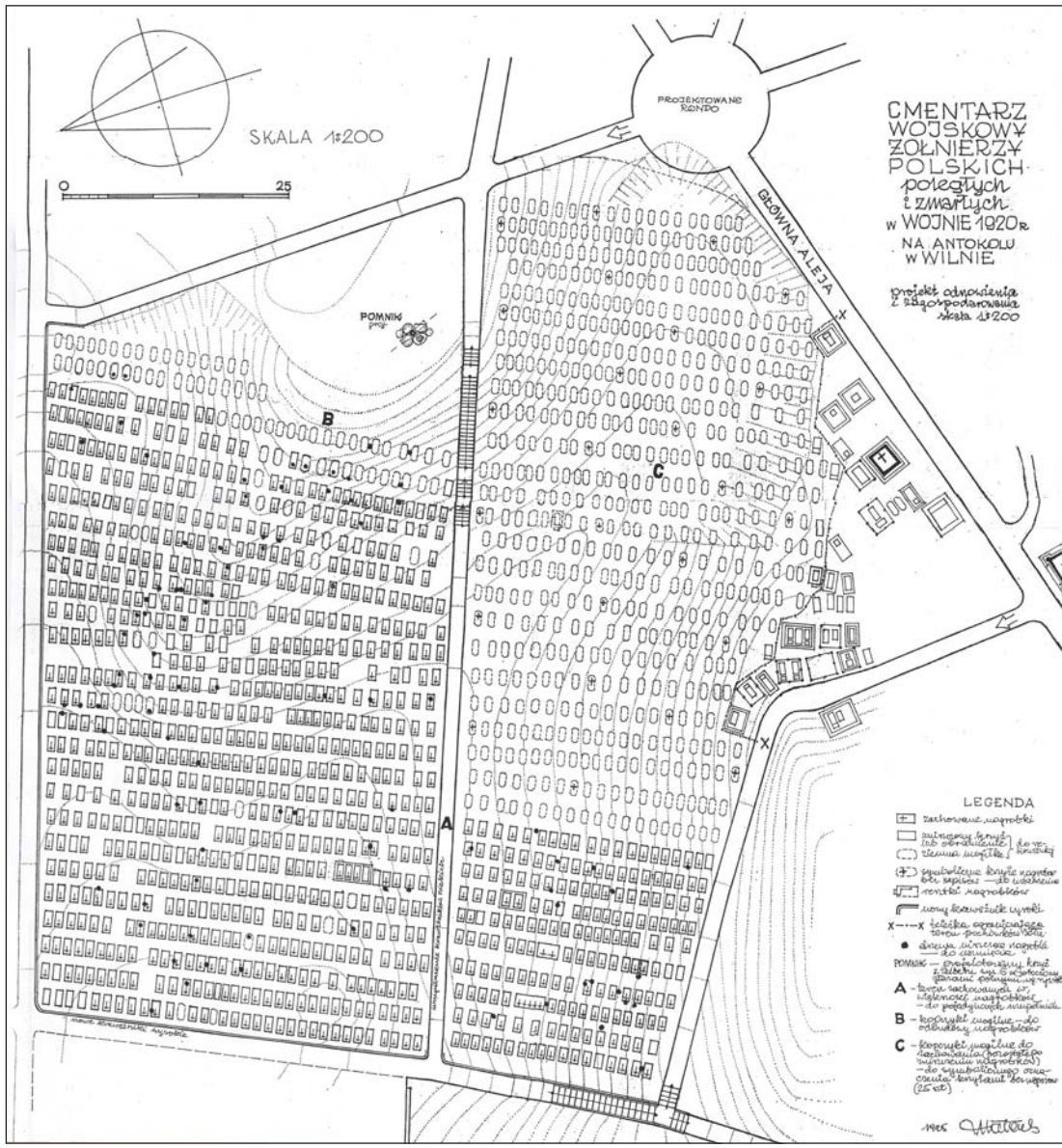
150. The military cemetery in Rasos after reconstruction according to the design by E. Małachowicz, in the foreground, there are tombstones of Home Army soldiers, in the background, of the Polish Army soldiers from the 1920s. (2017); photo E.G.

whole establishment, the professor decided to concentrate the graves of the Home Army soldiers in three regular rows – this adhered to the existing order of graves from the World War I period. In this way, he exposed the front of the cemetery and restored its symmetrical layout. Instead of the poor and often anonymous burials, new tombstones of identical shape were placed but distinguished by a slightly different shade of granite and the symbol of Fighting Poland. In this way, it was possible to restore the compositional continuity and create an aesthetically coherent whole. The design was implemented in 1993 thanks to the Council for the Protection of Monuments of Struggle and Martyrdom in Warsaw, in cooperation with Vilnius social activists. The reconstruction was primarily aimed at commemorating the fallen soldiers and restoring aesthetic values to the military cemetery in Rasos – a monument to the history of the Polish struggle for independence.

Simultaneously with the design and implementation works, Edmund Małachowicz prepared a scientific publication on Vilnius cemeteries, with particular emphasis on Rasos cemetery. There, he included a summary of his research on the necropolis, including an attempt to organize the naming of its individual elements, as well as a list of tombstones with short biographies of the dead. He summed up all of his work with: "the reconstruction of the cemetery carried out today allowed for a dignified commemoration and honouring of my colleagues who died in 1944, and together with this book, even in small part, to pay off the debt due to my hometown"[12].

Professor Małachowicz was also interested in another important military necropolis in the Antakalnis area, for which a partial reconstruction design was

12 Excerpt from a biographical note on the book jacket [74].



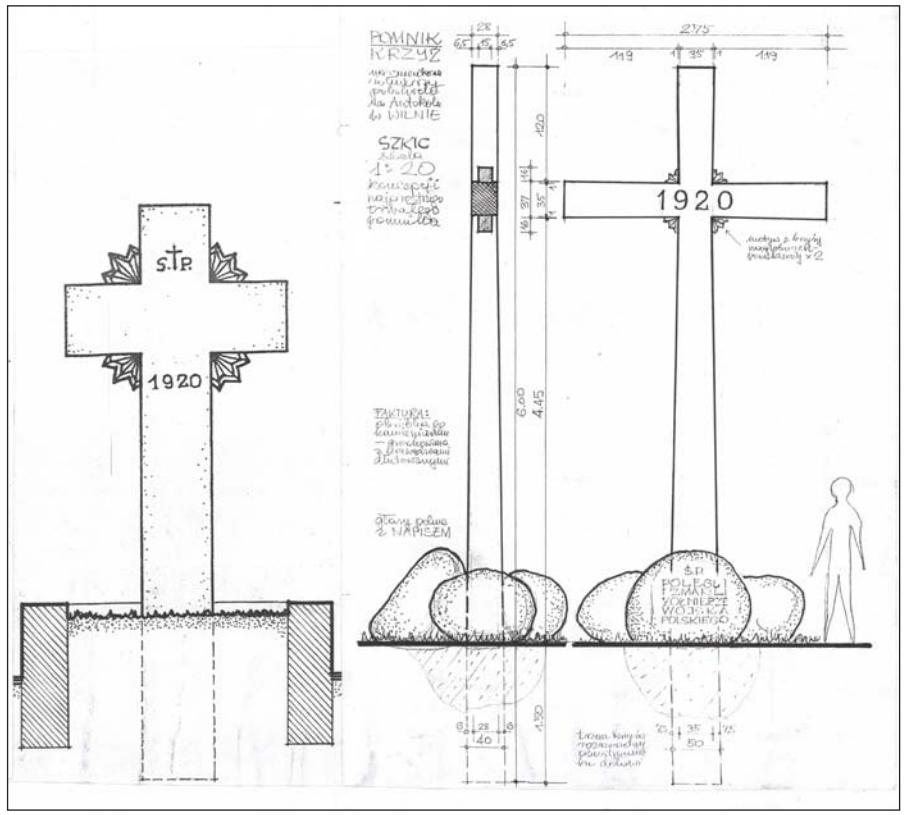
developed. Clearing work began in 1995, but the concept has not yet been implemented in its entirety. Edmund Małachowicz was the first to receive the prize of the Eastern Review (Przegląd Wschodni) in 1993 for his work concerning the so-called Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic.

For the Polish community living in the Vilnius region, cemeteries are of particular importance. They testify to the contribution of the Polish nation to the development of these lands; they commemorate the heroes fighting for their freedom. Edmund Małachowicz felt connected with Vilnius; it was his family place.

He spoke about it with fondness: "a city radiant with love and longing of many eminent Poles, such as Adam Mickiewicz, Józef Piłsudski, Czesław Miłosz, and

151. Design of reconstruction of the military cemetery of Polish soldiers in Antakalnis by E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

152. Fragment of the design for reconstruction of the Polish soldiers' military cemetery in Antakalnis by E. Małachowicz; from the archives of the Małachowicz family



many others who share the feelings expressed in the Polish national bard's apostrophe "Lithuania! My Homeland... and very often the nostalgia contained in the belief: "which I will not return to" [74, p. 11].

8 Religious architecture

In Edmund Małachowicz's professional output, there is a clear thread related to religious architecture. He showed interest in this subject already in his youth when he sketched historic churches in Vilnius. Later, during his studies, he made inventory drawings of many Wroclaw churches, including the Cathedral of John the Baptist and the Church of St Peter and Paul (1951–1952) under the direction of Marcin Bukowski.

The professor took part in the reconstruction of buildings destroyed during World War II, conducted studies, field research, created designs for restoration and conservation of ruined churches. Unfortunately, the documentation of some of his works is very fragmentary, and some of it has not been preserved at all, so it is impossible to discuss them in more detail, but it is worth mentioning some of them.

The reconstruction of churches and monasteries from the destruction of World War II took years due to a lack of sufficient financial resources. It happened many times that different architects supervised different stages of work. In the 1940s of the 20th century, many activities were carried out in Wrocław to protect the damaged buildings from collapse, in order to create thorough reconstruction designs in the following years. One of the state enterprises dealing with the creation of conservation documentation was PP PKZ, in which Edmund Małachowicz also worked. Among the objects being rebuilt on the basis of a design developed by the Professor was a small church of St Christopher. It was first secured in the years 1947–1950 and then rebuilt in the years 1956–1958 according to a design by Edmund Małachowicz and Józef Rachalski. The scope of work included the reconstruction of ribs and repair of perforated vaults and cleaning the interior from the remains of plaster [92, p. 177]. The church was handed over to the German Evangelical parish in 1958 and still remains in its hands.

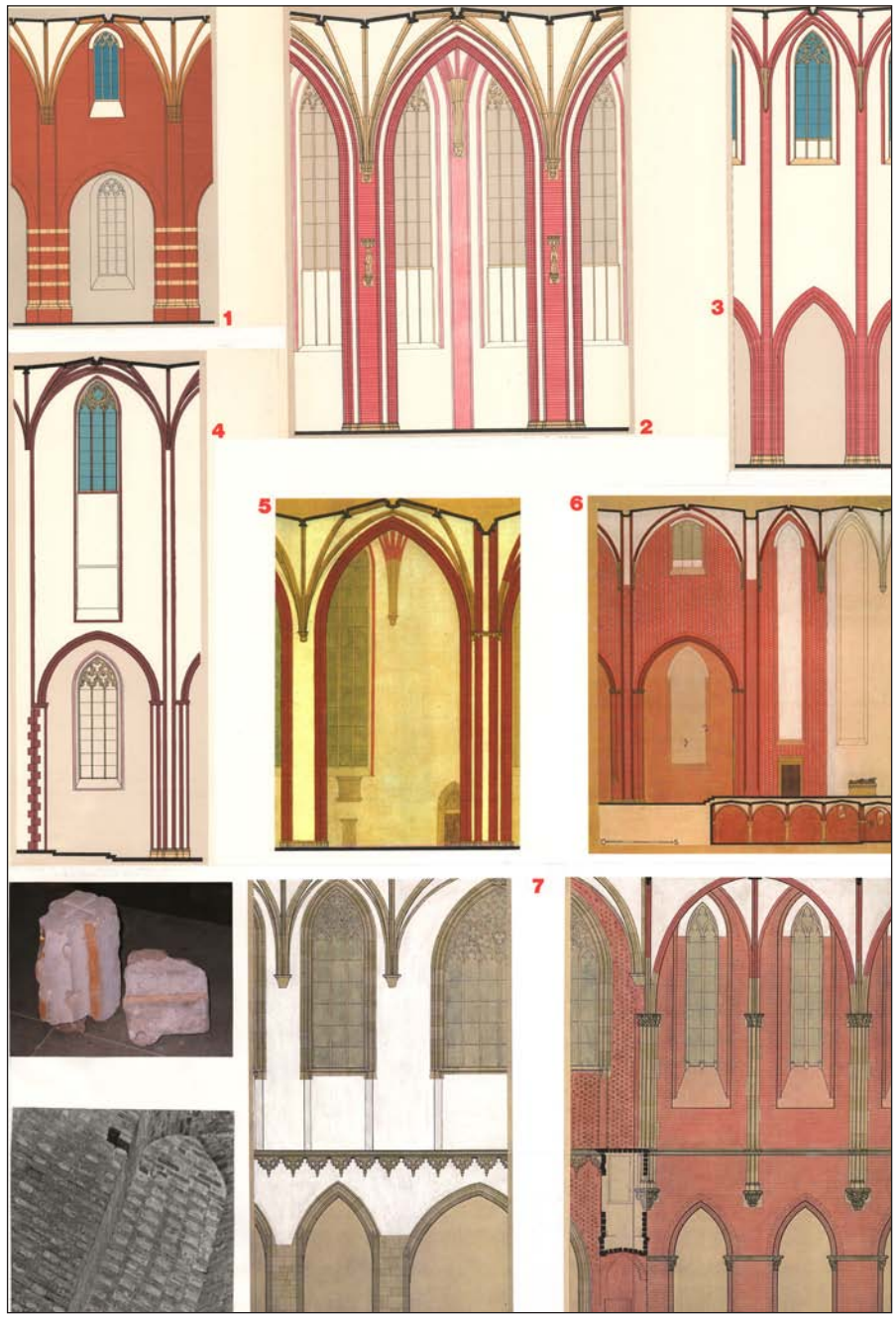
On the basis of research conducted during the reconstruction of historical churches, Edmund Małachowicz wrote his doctoral thesis on medieval texture and polychrome, which changed the then prevailing perception of the appearance of religious interiors from that period. He used the conclusions, for example, in designs to reconstruct wall paintings in the Cathedral of Wrocław or St Vincent's Church. Some designs have been implemented in the churches of Corpus Christi[1] and the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand and in the Cathedral of St Mary Magdalene in Wroclaw.

During his work as the Conservator of the Monuments of the City of Wroclaw, he often supervised the research carried out on Wroclaw's religious architecture.

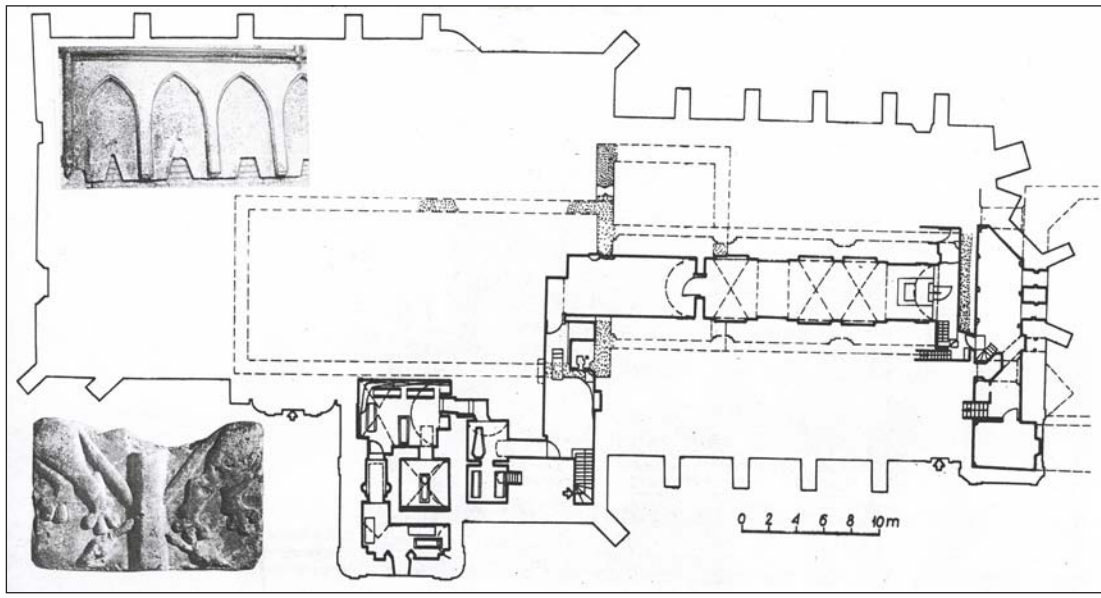
He was also the author of several conservation concepts, e.g., in the Church of St Martin[2] (1968), St Adalbert (1967), and St Giles in Ostrów Tumski (1968, 1969, 1979). All the buildings were of medieval origin.

1 Works under the direction of E. Małachowicz, consisting of the conservation and reconstruction of medieval polychrome, were performed in 1970 by S. Marchwicki.

2 At that time, the maintenance of the buttresses was carried out in cooperation with O. Czerner.



153. Designs for the reconstruction of medieval colouring of churches by E. Małachowicz: 1 – St Bernard Church (Wrocław), 2 – Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand (Wrocław), 3 – Church of St Mary Magdalene (Wrocław), 4 – Church of St Nicholas (Brzeg), 5 – Church of the Holy Cross (Wrocław), 6 – Church of St Vincent (Wrocław), 7 – Cathedral of John the Baptist (Wrocław) (late Gothic colouring of the nave body); from the archives of the Malachowicz family

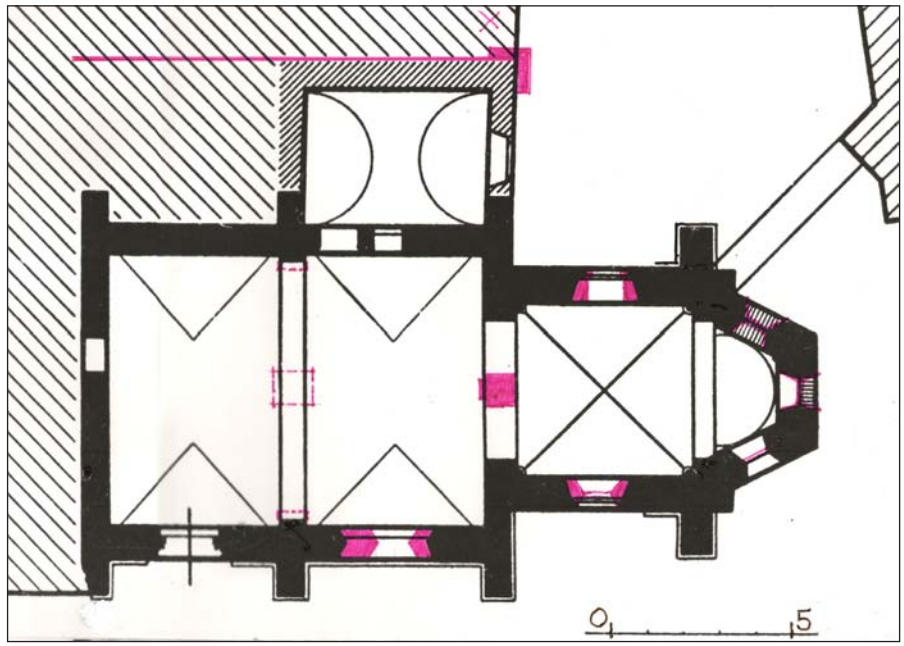


154. St Adalbert's Church in Wrocław – a plan of an underground reserve of relics of Romanesque architecture; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

The research work carried out in St Adalbert's Church enabled the exposition and partial reconstruction of the preserved relics. The remains of the interior's polychrome had been preserved, the recesses at the altar, and the traces of the medieval organ covered. The way of closing the chancel was reconstructed according to the condition from around the 13th century, and the window in one of the side aisles was bricked up. A Romanesque architecture reserve was set up in the underground.

In the case of the church of St Giles[3], the concept of conservation and restoration of the interior prepared by Edmund Małachowicz was based on the results of excavations conducted in 1966–1968 by Tadeusz Kozaczewski. During the implementation works, a large number of architectural details were discovered, which the Professor decided to expose. The main idea was that the "conservation of the building should give the viewer maximum information about the original shape of the interior, allowing the play of imagination without destroying the elements of late baroque architecture" [92, p. 221]. Uncovered relics of Romanesque architecture: heads, servants, epitaphs, lesenes, which were hung on wall hooks, became part of the composition of the interior of the church. In the nave, an abacus plate from the former central pillar was suspended. In the floor, the location of the central column pedestal was marked, while the course of the former vault spans became visible by means of appropriate lighting. The bricked-up Romanesque windows were uncovered, and the chancel arch with a pillar in the middle was reconstructed. New stained-glass windows and doors were made. The original layout of the one-pillar interior of St Giles's Church was an inspiration for Edmund Małachowicz's post-doctoral thesis, entitled *Średnio-*

3 The church was built between 1213–1218 as a small Romanesque building. The interior was rebuilt in the Baroque period. In the 19th century, an arcade frieze inspired by Romanesque forms was made on the façade. During World War II, the church was destroyed to a relatively small extent – it was put into use already in 1945. The façade maintenance design in the 1950s was by O. Czerner and M. Przyłęcki. A Romanesque arcade frieze and windows were discovered.



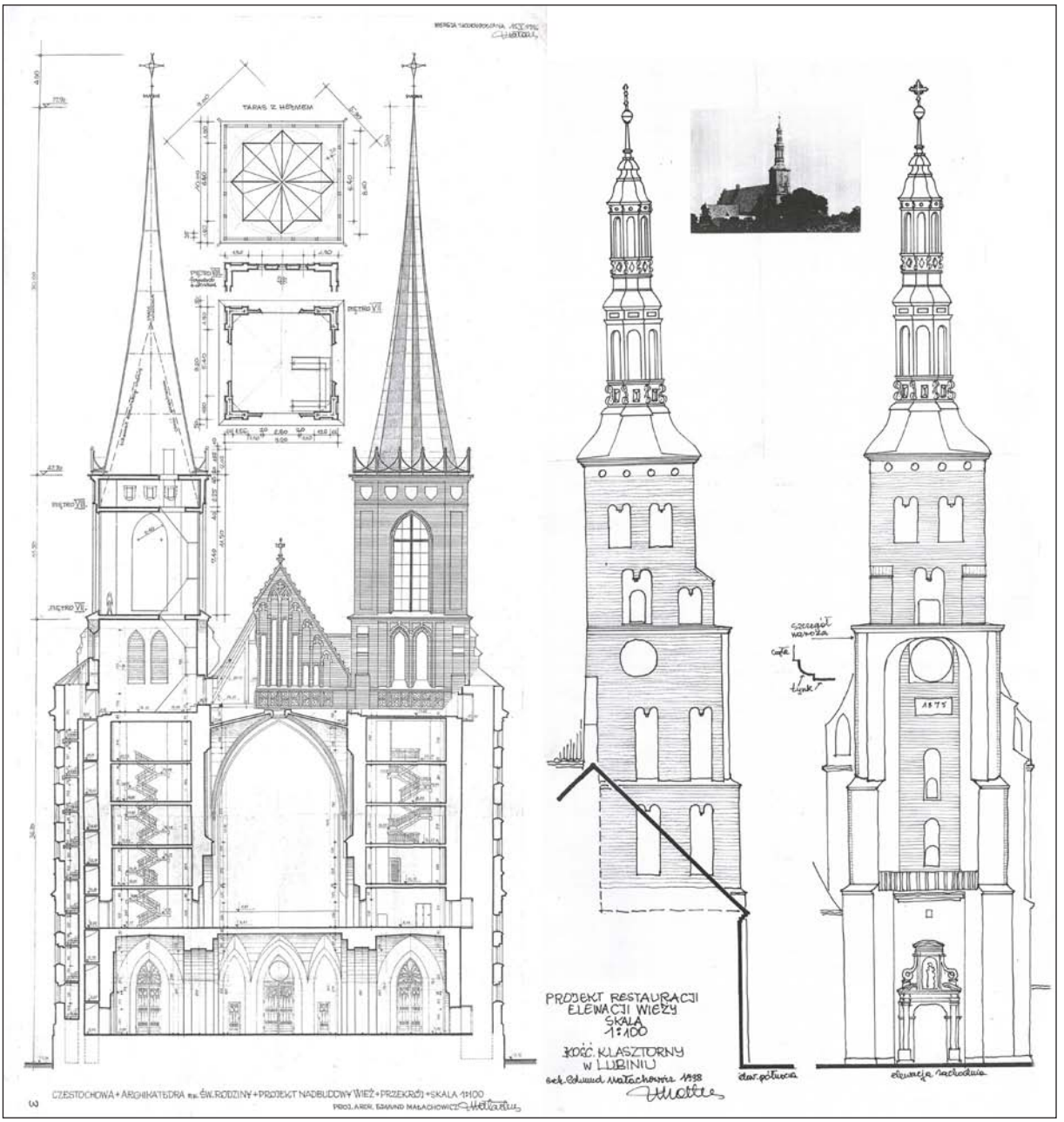
155. St Giles Church – a plan with the marking of the central pillar, the reconstruction of the bipartite chancel arch and windows; from the archives of the Małachowicz family

wieczne budowle jednofilarowe na Śląsku (*Medieval single-pillar buildings in Silesia*) [93].

Edmund Małachowicz (during his employment at the Faculty of Architecture at the Wrocław University of Technology) added to his output designs of a conservation and engineering nature, such as the spires on the John the Baptist Cathedral in Wrocław (1989–1992) as mentioned earlier, the spires over the towers of the 19th-century Saint Family's Cathedral Basilica in Częstochowa (1996, 1997) and the design for the conservation and restoration of the tower of the Benedictine monastery church in Lubin (1998). He also carried out conservation of the façade of St Martin's Church in Jawor (1977, 1978), as well as restoration of the façade of the parish church with its surroundings in Widawa (1978, 1979).

The professor summed up his experiences from the conducted works in an article entitled *Początki architektury ceglanej na Śląsku* (*The beginnings of brick architecture in Silesia*) [86, pp. 263–267], in which he cites the results of research from the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand, St Adalbert's Church in Wrocław or the abbey in Lubiąż.

Edmund Małachowicz was awarded the St Brother Albert Prize for his activity in the field of sacred architecture.



156. Designs of spires over the church towers: Archdiocesan basilica in Częstochowa (left), Benedictine church in Lubin (right); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

Summary of creative activity

Edmund Małachowicz's architectural and conservation activities have received recognition in the form of numerous awards and distinctions, including the Minister of Construction's award for the design of the Museum of Architecture, twice the Minister of Culture's award, the Minister of National Education's award (1975, 1977, 1997), the „Eastern Review" award for the reconstruction of Vilnius cemeteries. For his professional, scientific, and didactic achievements, he has received numerous ministerial and milieu awards, including St Brother Albert's Award for achievements in the field of religious architecture (1997) and the honorary award of the Association of Polish Architects (2001). He was awarded the Cross of Merit and the Knight's Cross of Polonia Restituta, the Medal of the Commission of National Education, medals: for the Care of the Places of National Remembrance, for the Care of Monuments, for Merits to the Lower Silesia Province, for Merits to the Wroclaw University of Technology. In 2007, he also received an honorary ICOMOS award for his conservation activities [70, p. 105, 106]. In nearly 60 years of his professional activity, he has created 60 major architectural designs, of which about 40 have been implemented.

155. Professor Edmund Małachowicz (2001); from the archives of the Małachowicz family

Edmund Małachowicz devoted all his professional work to the reconstruction of monuments – mainly those in Wrocław. His activity illustrates the transformations taking place in the Polish conservation principle (taking into account the specificity of the western lands). Following its course, one can clearly see links with the general directions of development happening in that field in Poland. The beginnings of Professor Małachowicz's work fell on the period when the reconstruction of monuments was identical to the post-war reconstruction of the country. Edmund Małachowicz's first designs were mainly retrospective creations of houses in the Old Town area of Wrocław based on analogies of style and preserved archival materials using historical building materials or imitating the original. Such actions were supported by the political situation in the country, espe-

[...] We had very uninteresting building materials, and there were also regulations and certain types of apartments. More fantasy could be afforded in competitions [...] [222].

cially the socialist realism doctrine in force at the time[1]. The reconstructed elements were based on the discovered iconographic material and the inventories of destroyed monuments. He also gained knowledge during the examination of relics *in situ*. He supervised the construction works as well. Initially, activities aimed at the faithful reconstruction of historical objects raised doubts, as it was a break with pre-war conservation rules[2]. Over time, however, they gained more and more supporters[3]. Georg Thum presented the contemporary assessment of the reconstruction of Wrocław from that period: "For those who see reconstructions as what they really are – that is, they see them as evidence of the pathos of restoration of the 1950s, the economic shortcomings of those times, and the ingenuity of architects in dealing with them, and finally the documents of dreams of an egalitarian socialist society – these observers will certainly not be disappointed. [...] in the history of post-war Poland, these buildings, regardless of whether they are successful reconstructions or not, are an authentic testimony – monuments of the Polish People's Republic. As such, they carry unique stories and have a unique historical value" [143, p. 396, 397][4]. Rebuilt squares in Wrocław are alive; they are a meeting place, a place where the city's life goes on. Even if the architects did not manage to completely faithfully recreate the state of the buildings from 1800, as they intended, they still maintained the atmosphere of „antiquity" of these places[5]. After 1956, there was a split in the direction of Wrocław's reconstruction. Conservation work continued, but the idea of modular and functional architecture, implemented in large panel system technology, became dominant. It was less and less often decided to rebuild the monuments – the old architecture started to be replaced by the contemporary one. The change of priorities made many of Edmund Małachowicz's designs impossible to implement, such as the Hatzfeld's Palace, the wing of the Royal Palace in Wolności Square, St Clare's Mills. The reconstruction of the Bernardine monastery continued, but also, in this case, a change in the way the building was restored to its historical appearance can be observed. Instead of faithfully imitating old patterns, the replacements for the defects in the structure were made in simplified forms and distinguished by using a different building material. Such a pioneering conservation solution was to complement the completely destroyed eastern section of the monastery's quadrilateral with a modern form, clearly referring to modernism. The nomination of Edmund Małachowicz as the Municipal Conservator in 1965 contributed to the creation of numerous design studies on the historical objects. It was not easy to distinguish the leading trend in his works because the range of conservation techniques used was very diverse. Professor used both restitution (Bernardine bastion) and reintegration (the façades of

1 A summary of the Wrocław reconstruction policy can be found in the paper [143, pp. 183–210]

2 Cf.: [45, pp. 3, 4; 105; 113, pp. 53–59].

3 Raymond Lemaire, one of the creators of the Venice Charter, admitted in 1992, in an interview with K. Kirschke, that the post-war reconstruction of historic complexes in Poland was the right action.

4 It is worth mentioning that Professor E. Małachowicz considered the term „reconstruction" inappropriate to describe post-war conservation practice. He himself classified these activities as „rebuilding"; cf. [80, p. 116–119].

5 The value of these objects is confirmed by the fact that most of them were entered in the Register of Monuments of the City of Wrocław as early as in the 1970s.

Wrocław Cathedral). He combined modern construction techniques with traditional ones (reinforced concrete ceiling in St Clare's Church) and introduced modern construction materials (glass display windows in the Hatzfeld Palace, openwork footbridge connecting St Clare's mills). He treated the problem of exposing earlier stages of the building's construction with great caution, as he wrote: "Often such expositions disturb the architecture of buildings, creating a conglomerate which is the result of the so-called archaeological conservation and serves only instructive and documentary purposes, at the expense of aesthetic values. Such cases, apart from the analysis of historical value, should also include an analysis of the aesthetics of the artistic form of the object" [80, p. 100]. For these reasons, Edmund Małachowicz, in his designs, tried to avoid such solutions and maintain a uniform architectural style. An example is the interior of St Clare's Church, where the Baroque stuccowork was separated from the interior restored into Gothic by a ceiling, and St Hedwig's Chapel (also Baroque) was closed with a grating [29, pp. 59–72]. He also removed 19th-century alterations from the façades of Wrocław Cathedral and thus restored their Gothic form. Edmund Małachowicz continued to be an active designer also as a researcher at the Faculty of Architecture at the Wrocław University of Technology. In this period, we can see a return to the idea of post-war reconstruction, for example, the development of Katedralna Street in Ostrów Tumski. Meanwhile, the integration of the western elevation of Wrocław Cathedral through the construction of tower spires was a bold action. Most of the designs were closely related to the scientific research conducted by the Professor. Such was the case with the crypt adaptation designs in Wrocław Cathedral. An additional element enriching the interior was the exposition of the results of archaeological discoveries concerning the origins of the building. Inside the Romanesque crypt, measures were applied, which were a kind of conservation metaphor expressed by means of architectural elements of the interior aimed to make the object of the exhibition more legible. A narrative was created in this way, which made it possible to perceive the former building as a whole, thanks to modern techniques, including the possibility of tracing the stages of its transformation. Edmund Małachowicz's work shows a connection with the so-called Wrocław School of Conservation, which Olgierd Czerner characterized as follows: "From the example of an object renovated with great reverence, but also without fear of introducing dissonance with the use of modern techniques based on concrete, steel, and glass – one can learn about the features typical for the Wrocław School of Conservation. Little is written about this school, although its existence is as undoubtedly a fact as it is an undoubted fact that during the thirty years of existence of the Faculty of Architecture at the Wrocław University of Technology, its walls were left by graduates who, in addition to general knowledge, also had some specific ideas about the boundary dividing and connecting at the same time the past and the present; the graduates taught not only by the professors but also by the landscape that stretched daily before their eyes; the vast forest of towers and walls of the Wroclaw ruins" [23, s. 205]. The experience of the Wroclaw School of Conservation also included references to the achievements of German conservation (e.g., by using studies by R. Stein, L. Burgermeister, or G. Grundmann). The experience of the Opole native craftsmen was also widely used. The choice of design solutions was also influenced by the difficult access to traditional build-

> [...] One of the niches [in architectural works, note E.G.], where it was possible to do something interesting, was the conservation work, which often differed from the usual socialist barbell [...] [226].

ing materials. Professor Małachowicz's vast practical experience, measured by the number of completed designs and their implementations, is proof that there are no universal solutions in the choice of the direction of conservation activities. Each case was treated individually. In this diversity, however, one can see some elements constantly present in Edmund Małachowicz's work. One of them is to strive for maximum visibility of the key features determining the cultural value of the monument. He was in favour of displaying relics in connection with architectural objects. This is visible in many of his designs, e.g. in the Museum of Architecture, where he tried to use the remnants of authentic stonework, or in the sculptures from the University Square integrated into the architectural landscape of the city. In this way, he transformed every building into a kind of museum visible to every passer-by. The post-war reconstruction of Wrocław's monuments was mainly aimed at restoring the forms from before the destruction in 1945 (apart from the Market Square and Solny Square, rebuilt according to R. Stein's study, i.e., reproducing the appearance from around 1800). Edmund Małachowicz proposed the introduction of valuing for the elements added in subsequent centuries. He postulated the removal of distortions that introduced disharmony in the aesthetics of the building or were of negligible artistic value, which he repeatedly expressed in his publications, criticising the „meticulous" post-war reconstruction of Wrocław Cathedral or the Town Hall [79, pp. 161–165; 92, p. 186]. The creative transformations of the monuments were to serve only the purpose of better exposing their qualities, giving them a certain setting that would increase their aesthetic value. It is worth noting that this was not about treating the monument as a core for reconstruction in the spirit of freely understood historical forms. The professor considered the scope of intervention to be "limited and more subordinated to the results of scientific research" [80, p. 92]. Edmund Małachowicz's design proposals also show a desire to restore the integrity of the building or the urban complex by complementing its form. According to Professor Małachowicz, incomplete forms, which represent insufficient information, evoke "unpleasant and disturbing feelings in the audience" [94, pp. 138–147]. These, in turn, constitute the basic criterion shaping the opinion of the observer without any conservation preparation and influence their attitude to cultural heritage. An example of such actions was the construction of the spires on the towers of Wrocław Cathedral, the design for rebuilding the wing of the Royal Palace in Wolnosci Square, where introducing the symmetry to the front elevation was planned. He also took care of the legibility of the message in the case of the exposition of ruins and fragments of discovered architectural details by using a supplement made of easily distinguishable material, or as in the case of the Romanesque crypt in the cathedral – contemporary lighting techniques. Edmund Małachowicz was characterized by great individualism in the choice of topics. He worked on designs of objects that were his interest regardless of the place of his employment, which was rare during the communist era. This can be seen in the Hatzfeld Palace and the Museum of Architecture. He implemented many topics on his initiative despite unfavorable circumstances, e.g., designs made to restore the façade of Wrocław Cathedral or to rebuild St Clare's Mills for the Ethnographic Museum. He was also able to skillfully use the „political climate" to find support and funds to implement his ideas, such as the Mausoleum of the Wrocław Piasts or the conservation of the Bernardine bastion. Edmund

Małachowicz's conservation views are summarized by his methodology of conservation works, thanks to which an architect will be able to create a design concept. The number of so-called preparatory works covering historical and iconographic studies and local vision is noteworthy. The professor also emphasized the need for supervision at each stage of the investment. Another condition for success, according to him, is the interdisciplinary cooperation of individual specialists and readiness to change the adopted solutions in case of new discoveries made during construction. Edmund Małachowicz can, therefore, be considered to be in favour of conservation based on scientific methods[6]. Edmund Małachowicz himself has made Don Quixote from La Mancha the patron of his conservation work – it is his image that he placed next to his own on the cover of the folder of the exhibition summarizing 50 years of his professional activity.

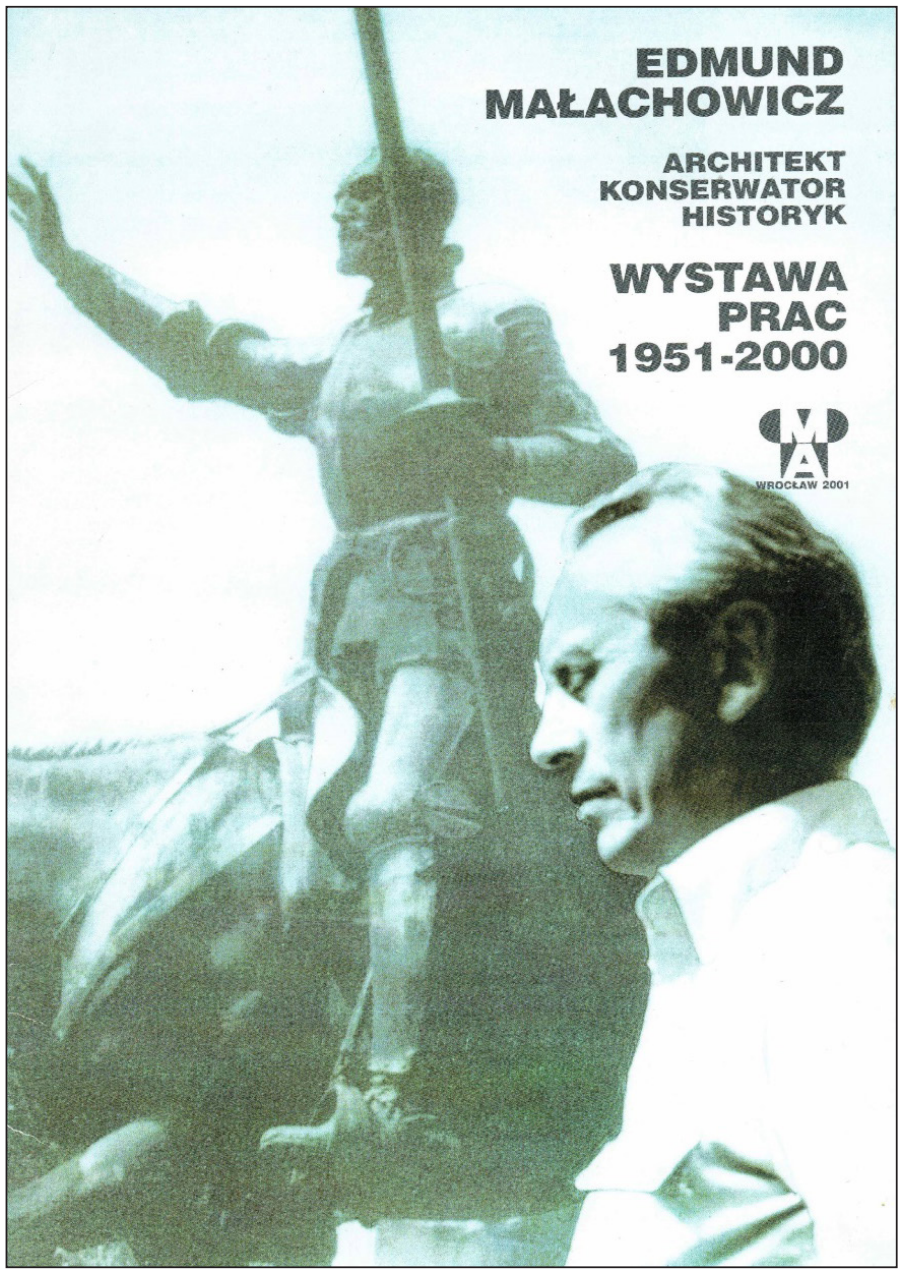
[...] For many years I had a passion, a passion for action. It seemed to me that if I did something, persuaded and fought, cultural values, the specific charm of the European city would gradually recover [...] [225].

Camillo Boito saw the work of the conservator the same way, he wrote: "Preservation of monuments is a toil, which dries the brain, and the soul in peace cannot leave. The great undertaking consists of a small number of trivialities that can torment one in the long run. Why, one must always be able to reconcile archaeological considerations with picturesqueness, statics with aesthetics. Such a compromise can oftentimes be an unlikeness. One has to go this way or that way. And then those who would prefer the annihilation of the monument rather than its partial restoration, or those who accept any alteration, so that the building can continue to boast before posterity, will shout under the sky. And often, almost always, both of them shout" [7, vol. 1, p. 16]. Professor Edmund Małachowicz's incessant work, although not entirely rewarding, helped to save many monuments from destruction, and surely "without them, Wrocław would not have been the way it is..."[7]

6 Zygmunt Świechowski compared E. Małachowicz to Eugène E. Viollet-le-Duc because, in his opinion, they represent a similar approach to conservation practice based on flexibility and analysis as well as knowledge of the history of architecture. Cf.: [41, s. 10]. However, it should be taken into account that E. Małachowicz was not an orthodox purist, and appreciated the style layering in architecture.

7 Cf.: [73, s. 4].

156. Cover of the folder from the exhibition presenting the work of E. Małachowicz; from J. Przyłęcki's archive



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List of acronyms

ABmW – Construction Archives of the City of Wrocław

AKZmW – Archives of the Conservator of the City of Wrocław APOW – State Archives of Wrocław

AWKZ – Archives of the Provincial Conservator

CIAM – Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne International Congress on Modern Architecture

DBOR – Directorate for Construction of Workers' Housing Estates

ICCROM – International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

MKUA. – Municipal Commission for Urban Planning and Architecture

NID – National Heritage Institute

PAN – Polish Academy of Sciences

PDRN – Presidium of the District National Council of the City of Wrocław

PP PKZ – State Enterprise of Monument Conservation Workshops

PRN – Presidium of the National Council

List of street and square names

Contemporary name	German	Name from the 2nd half of the 20th century
Bema Józefa (Square)	Gneisenauplatz	Bema Józefa (Square)
Bernardyńska	Kirchstr.	Bernardyńska
Biskupia	Helmuth-Brückner-Str (Bischofstrasse)	Biskupia
Dominikański (Square)	Dominikanerplatz	Dzierżyńskiego Feliksa (Square); 1951–1989
Grabiszyńska	Gräbschener Str.	Grabiszyńska
Kanonia	Göppertstr.	Kanonia
Kapitulna	Kapitelweg	Kapitulna
Katedralna	Domstr.	Katedralna
Katedralny (Square)	Domplatz	Katedralny (Square)
Krawiecka	Mäntlergasse	Krawiecka
Krowia Kaznodziejska Kuźnicza	Langeholzgasse Schmiedebrücke	Krowia Kaznodziejska Predigergasse Kuźnicza
Łaciarska	Altbüßerstr.	Pokutnicza do 23.11.1956
Nankiera biskupa (Square)	Ritterplatz	Nankiera biskupa (Square)
Nowy Targ	Der Neumarkt	Nowy Targ
Ofiar Oświęcimskich	Junkernstr.	Ofiar Oświęcimskich
Oławska	Ohlauer Str.	Oławska (1945, 1946)
Rynek	Der Ring	Rynek
Rynek-Ratusz	Am Rathause	Przy Ratuszu do 1978
Juliusza Słowackiego	Am Ohlauufer	Juliusza Słowackiego (aleja)
Solny (Square)	Blücherplatz	Solny (Square)
Staromłyńska	Mühlgasse	Staromłyńska
Wita Stwosza	Albrechtstr.	Wita Stwosza
Szewska	Schuhbrücke	Szewska
Świdnicka	Schweidnitzer Str	Stalingradzka 2.02.1950–1957
św. Doroty	Dorotheengassee	św. Doroty
św. Idziego	Kleine Domstr.	św. Idziego
św. Jadwigi	Neue Sandstr.	św. Jadwigi
św. Katarzyny	Katharinenstr.	św. Katarzyny
św. Marcina	Martinistr.	św. Marcina
św. Wita	Ziegengasse	św. Wita
Świętokrzyska	Kreuzstr.	Świętokrzyska
Uniwersytecka	Ursulinerstr.	Urszulanek 1945–26.03.1948, Uniwersytetów Szwedzkich 24.03.1948–23.11.1956
Uniwersytecki (Square)	Universitätsbrücke	Uniwersytecki (Square)
Westerplatte (Square)	Friesenplatz	Westerplatte (Square)
Wielkiego Kazimierza (was created by merging several streets)	Karlsstr., Schloßohle, Goldeneradegasse	Karola1945, 1946, Zaułek Zamkowy do 25.09.1975, od 26.09.1975 Złote Koło
Więzienna	Stockgasse	Więzienna
Wolności (Square)	Platz der Republik	Wolności (Square)

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Reviewers
Olgierd Czerner, Krystyna Kirschke

Editing and proofreading
Dorota Rawa

Cover design, font design and paging
Maciej Szłapka

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Wybrzeże Stanisława Wyspiańskiego 27, 50-370 Wrocław
http://www.oficyna.pwr.edu.pl
e-mail: oficwyd@pwr.edu.pl
zamawianie.ksiazek@pwr.edu.pl

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The book discusses “the working life of a person eminent in the post-war Polish conservation movement – prof. dr hab. inż. arch. Edmund Małachowicz”. The publication is “[...] the first attempt to holistically describe the architectural and conservational oeuvre of a great personality, whom, on a national scale, Edmund Małachowicz was in this field, consistently implementing his ideas, beginning from the time of the reconstruction of Wrocław after the destruction of the war until the first decade of the 21st c. [...] The monograph is aimed at a broad spectrum of recipients – architects, architecture, art and post-war conservation historians, as well as students of similar faculties across Poland. [...] it will also meet the expectations of a broader circle of readers, especially those interested in the history and architecture of Wrocław after 1945 – the period, which only recently begun to be a subject of the scientific research [...]”.

From the review of prof. Krystyna Kirschke

Elżbieta Grodzka – dr inż. arch., assistant professor at the Faculty of Architecture of the Wrocław University of Technology. She specializes in the reconstruction and conservation of historical monuments and the adaptation of historical objects with consideration for modern utility requirements.

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